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OVIDS KUNSTPRINZIP IN DEN *METAMORPHOSEN*.

Obwohl Epos und Elegie von der antiken Theorie als ein und dieselbe Gattung gezählt wurden und im Laufe ihrer Geschichte vielfach ineinander übergegangen sind, waren sie ursprünglich durch eine scharfe Grenzlinie voneinander geschieden. Der Epiker spricht nicht im eigenen Namen, sondern lässt sein Selbst hinter seinem Gesange verschwinden: der Elegiker dagegen äussert, was ihn bewegt, in persönlicher Form und tut es in ausdrücklicher Anrede einem grösseren Kreise oder einem einzelnen Adressaten kund. Diese Wendung des Ich zum Du ist schon für die Totenklage charakteristisch, von der man ja bereits im Altertum die Elegie hergeleitet hat: sie lässt der Äusserung des Schmerzes nicht ungeregelt ihren Lauf, sondern redet den Verstorbenen an; man beklagt und belobt ihn und stellt ihm die Schwere des Verlustes vor, den man durch sein Hinscheiden erlitten.¹ Der epischen Objektivität steht also von jeher eine ebenso ausgesprochene elegische Subjektivität gegenüber. Es ist das ein Unterschied, der weit über das Formale hinausgeht, sich aber auch schon in der Besonderheit der Versmasse ausprägt: die fortlaufende Erzählung des Epos sucht die Endlosigkeit der stichischen Wiederholung des Hexameters, aber die immer wechselnden Motive der Elegie bedürfen des engeren Rahmens des in sich geschlossenen Distichons.²

Es war sozusagen ein Stilfehler Hesiods, dass er seine Parä-

¹ E. Reiner, *Die rituelle Totenklage der Griechen* (Stuttg., 1938 [Tübinger Beiträge, Heft 30]). *Rh. Mus.*, XCII (1944), 298 f.

² Vgl. W. Schmid, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.*, I, 1, 354 f., 362. Dank seiner Abrundung wurde das Distichon auch das adäquate Mass des Epigramms, s. H. Hommel, *Rh. Mus.*, LXXXVIII (1939), 193 ff.

nesen im epischen statt im elegischen Masse vortrug; andererseits ist die narrative Elegie strenggenommen ein Übergriff der andern Gattung über die ihr eigentlich gesteckten Grenzen. Allerdings schloss sich auch die elegische Reflexion an irgendwelche Fakta an und bediente sich mythischer und sonstiger Exempla, und so konnte sie leicht ein erzählendes Element in sich aufnehmen, wie es schon in der primitiven Totenklage angelegt ist; aber erst bei Minnermos scheint diese Tendenz weiter ausgegriffen zu haben, und Panyassis war der erste, der ein ganzes Werk erzählender Art, die Ἰωνικά, in Distichen abfasste:³ damit gab er das Beispiel für Antimachos' *Lyde*, die selber wieder für die Folgezeit vorbildlich gewesen ist. Aber auch in dieser Abart des Genos ist die subjektive Haltung des Dichters bewahrt geblieben: er greift mit seinen Gedanken und Empfindungen in die Erzählung ein, und während er seinem Anteil an dem Geschick seiner Personen Ausdruck verleiht, betont er überhaupt das Gefühlsmäßige und lässt naturgemäss das ἐλεεινόν besonders stark hervortreten, um ein andermal sich doch auch wieder in leichtem Scherze auszulassen, und immer ist er geneigt, diejenigen Momente der Sage, die ihn besonders berühren, auf Kosten anderer ausgiebiger zu behandeln. Man darf also sagen, dass er als Erzähler zwar den eigentlichen Bereich der Elegie verlässt, aber doch ihrem Charakter nicht ganz untreu wird. Der Epiker hingegen hält sich mit seiner Person zurück und lässt schon damit seine Helden in einer Distanz erscheinen, die es ihm erlaubt, mehr in der Richtung des σεμνόν und des δεινόν zu wirken; er tendiert daher weniger zu Asymmetrien und führt die Erzählung eher in gleichmässigem Ablauf und ausgewogener Vollständigkeit durch.

Man kann schwerlich in Abrede stellen, dass die Alexandriner wie wohl auch bereits Antimachos und Philitas diesen Stilunterschied eingehalten haben: ein τεχνικός wie Kallimachos wird die Subjektivität, die er den *Aitia* verlieh, in seinem epischen Mustergedicht, der *Hekale*, sicher zurückgedrängt haben. Aber es ist nicht wahrscheinlich, dass einer der hellenistischen Dichter die Differenzierung bereits so weit getrieben hätte wie Ovid in den *Metamorphosen* und *Fasti*,⁴ sieht es doch so aus, als ob der Römer

³ E. Martini, Ἐπιτύμβιον H. Swoboda dargebracht (Reichenberg, 1927), 172, Anm. 22.

⁴ Burs. Jahresber., CCLV (1937), I, 73, 215. Rh. Mus., XC (1941), 268. Vgl. U. v. Wilamowitz, Hell. Dicht., I, 231 f.; II, 15.

die zwei Werke gerade deshalb zur gleichen Zeit in verschiedenem Versmasse bearbeitet hätte, um die beiden Arten umso schärfer gegeneinander kontrastieren zu können. Es ist kein Zufall, dass die Eigenheiten des epischen und des elegischen Genos erst am Vergleich der Musterstücke Ovids so deutlich beobachtet und bestimmt worden sind, wie es von R. Heinze geschehen ist.⁵ Und doch hat auch dieser Dichter manches elegische Stilmoment in die *Metamorphosen* einfließen lassen und nicht einmal die epische Objektivität konsequent gewahrt.⁶ Auch die Alexandriner hatten es nicht immer genau damit genommen, wenn wir nach den *Argonautika* des Apollonios von Rhodos urteilen dürfen,⁷ und sie werden sich dabei auf gewisse Ausnahmen von der Regel gestützt haben, die sich schon bei Homer aufzeigen liessen. Anrufungen der Musen und anderer Gottheiten der Poesie galten natürlich als legitim und sind ja auch wirklich im Geiste der Rhapsoden, die ihren Gesang der göttlichen Inspiration und nicht der eigenen Eingebung verdanken wollen; der Rekurs auf die alte Tradition hingegen, der sich bei Apollonios nicht selten findet (I, 24, 26, 172, usw.), schaltet stilwidrig eine menschliche Autorität vor der göttlichen ein und lässt damit die Möglichkeit eines Zweifels offen, der gelegentlich sogar direkt ausgesprochen wird (I, 154; III, 816, u. a.): aber Homer war immerhin *Il.*, II, 783 und *Od.*, VI, 42 mit einem *φασί* vorangegangen, wenn auch nicht im Zusammenhange der Haupterzählung. Die vielen aitiologischen Beziehungen auf die Gegenwart, die das hellenistische

⁵ "Ovids elegische Erzählung," *Ber. Verhandl. Sächs. Akad. Wiss., Philol.-hist. Klasse*, LXXI (1919), 7. Vgl. noch H. Renz, *Mythologische Beispiele in Ovids erotischer Elegie* (Diss. Tüb., 1935); W. Kraus, *R.-E.*, XVIII, 1944 ff., 1958 ff. Für den epischen Stil förderlich A. Rohde, *De Ovidi arte epica* (Berl., 1929), vgl. *Gnom.*, IX (1933), 28 ff.

⁶ Heinze, 18, Anm. 1; 63 ff. K. Schnuchel, *Ovidius qua arte Metamorphoseon libros composuerit* (Diss. Greifsw., 1922 [Maschinenschrift-exemplar]), 8. Martini, 187 f., Anm. 61. Vgl. Rohde, 21, Anm. 25; 29; Brooks Otis, *T. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), 191 f., 221 f., Anm. 108.

⁷ *Das Neue Bild der Antike*, I (Leipz., 1942), 345. Für Vergil s. R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (2. Ausg., 1908), 368 ff. (3. Ausg., 370 ff.). Vgl. ferner E. Rohde, *Griech. Roman*, 97 (3. Ausg., 104), Anm. 3. Ed. Norden zu Verg., *Aen.*, VI, 14. W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der röm. Lit.* (Stuttg., 1924), 27, 212 ff. Nach Vergils Vorbild und der Lehre der spätantiken Vergil-Interpretation geht die "interiectio ex persona poetae" in die mittelalterliche Epik über (E. R. Curtius, *Corona querna*, *Festgabe K. Strecker* [Leipz., 1941], 11 ff.).

Epos durchziehen (I, 988, 1019, 1047 f., 1061 f., usw.), hatten eine gewisse Analogie in jenem *οἱοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι*, womit Homer seine Generation von der Zeit der Heroen distanziert (*Il.*, V, 304; XII, 383, 449; XX, 287), und selbst die gelegentlichen Dispositionsbemerkungen (I, 23, 648 f., 919 ff., 1220; II, 844 f.; IV, 451) waren durch *Il.*, XII, 176 gedeckt, eine Stelle, die allerdings schon Zenodot mit gutem Grund für unecht erklärt hatte. So konnten also mit dem homerischen Vorgange Freiheiten entschuldigt werden, die dem tieferen Blick eine ganz veränderte Einstellung des neuzeitlichen Dichters zu seinem Stoffe verraten, aber Apollonios trug kein Bedenken, auch ohne Autorisation manchmal eigene Reflexionen einfließen zu lassen (I, 82, 616, 1035 f.; II, 541 ff., u. a.),⁸ und Ovid nahm sich ebensowenig in Acht, derartige Verstösse streng zu meiden, geschweige dass er sich hätte beikommen lassen, auf das aitiologische Element zu verzichten. Noch weniger Vorsicht war vonnöten, wo sich nicht nach so eindeutigen Kriterien bestimmen liess, was dem epischen Stil zuwiderlief, und dem individuellen Geschmack mehr Spielraum blieb. Lag es schon im Wesen des Alexandrinismus, Götter und Heroen nicht so sehr aus ehrfürchtiger Ferne zu betrachten, sondern dem Gefühle des modernen Menschen näher zu rücken, so hätte ein Ovid erst recht sich selbst verleugnen müssen, wenn er seinen Gestalten immer die Erhabenheit gewahrt hätte, die die grosse Form eigentlich erforderte, aber nicht einmal Homer selber durchweg beobachtet hatte,⁹ und was die Gleichmässigkeit der epischen Erzählung angeht, so würde er selbst, wenn er hätte korrekt sein wollen, bei der Überfülle des Stoffes kaum imstande gewesen sein, Asymmetrien ganz zu vermeiden.¹⁰

⁸ Fälle wie I, 78 f.; III, 837 sind schon eher altepisch (*Il.*, XVI, 46 f.; XVII, 197). Die Torheit des Glaukos (vgl. L. Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage* [Brünn, 1938], 126 f. [2. Ausg., 141]) bezeichnet Homer, *Il.*, VI, 234 ff. nicht etwa durch ein persönliches Urteil, sondern durch die erzählende Aussage, dass Zeus ihm die Besinnung nahm. Für Kallimachos vgl. E. Diehl, *Der Digressionsstil des Kallimachos* (Riga, 1937 [*Abh. d. Herder-Gesellsch. u. des Herder-Inst. zu Riga*, V, 9]), 23.

⁹ W. Kroll, *Studien*, 215 f.; Martini, a. O.

¹⁰ Martini, a. O.; A. Rohde, *De Ovidi arte epica*, 28, Anm. 36. Selbst Kallimachos zeigt in der *Hekale* nicht nur Aitiologie, sondern auch Asymmetrie (anders Heinze, *Ovids eleg. Erzählung*, 95, vgl. 93). Dies Kriterium ist also am wenigsten bezeichnend.

Und doch dürfen uns all diese Lässigkeiten nicht an seinem prinzipiellen Stilwillen irre machen: worauf es ihm ankam, zeigt sich daran, dass er nicht nur einige Geschichten, die er früher schon im elegischen Masse behandelt hatte, nun in epischem Gewande wieder neu aufnahm (A. A., II, 21 ff., 561 ff.; III, 687 ff. = *Met.*, VIII, 183 ff.; IV, 171 ff.; VII, 796 ff.¹¹), sondern auch mehrere Sagen in den beiden gleichzeitigen Werken nebeneinander gestaltete (*Met.*, II, 409 ff.; V, 341 ff.; XIV, 775 ff., 805 ff. = *Fast.*, II, 153 ff.; IV, 417 ff.; I, 257 ff.; II, 475 ff.) und so die Variation von vorneherein auf die Differenzierung des Stils anlegte.¹² Hier, wo er gewissermassen am Exempel demonstrierte, hat er die Besonderheiten der epischen und der elegischen Erzählung stärker als anderwärts und bis zu sachlichen Abweichungen ausgeprägt und stilistische Unregelmässigkeiten möglichst strikte gemieden. Am ausgiebigsten ist die Dublette der Persephonegeschichte: in der einen Fassung legt er den Akzent auf die düstere Majestät Plutons und den Zorn der ihres Kindes beraubten Demeter, in der andern auf das idyllische Bild der Blumen sammelnden Mädchen und das Leid der göttlichen Mutter, die Erde und Himmel suchend durchstreift. Obwohl er nun dieses Mal in Kallimachos' *Aitia* und in Nikanders *Heteroiumena* eine elegische und eine epische Quelle vor Augen hatte, so ist er doch nicht etwa in den *Fasti* der einen und in den *Metamorphosen* der andern gefolgt, sondern hat die ihm gegebenen Elemente selbständig verteilt und dabei die Stilunterschiede schärfer betont, als es in den griechischen Originalen wahrscheinlich geschehen war.¹³

Wenn er seine Leser nun so offensichtlich zum Vergleiche herausforderte, darf man erwarten, dass die beiden Werke auch im ganzen als Gegenstücke wirken sollten. Allerdings sind sie

¹¹ Renz, 4 ff. Zur Prokriserzählung s. auch *Gnom.*, IX (1933), 30 ff.

¹² Damit ist die Fragestellung von F. Wickers, *Quaestiones Ovidianae* (Diss. Gött., 1917), 52 ff., erledigt, der die Priorität der einen oder der andern Version nachzuweisen sich bemühte.

¹³ *Rh. Mus.*, XC (1941), 236 ff. Dass Ovid in der Stilisierung manchmal zur Unzeit von seiner jeweiligen Quelle abhängig gewesen wäre, wie Martini, 187 f., Anm. 61 meint, ist nicht wahrscheinlich. Etwas anderes ist es, dass er gelegentlich einmal einen einzelnen Ausdruck aus dem Griechischen geradezu übersetzt hat, wie wir es *Fast.*, VI, 176 nachweisen können (aus Kallimachos' Aitienprolog V. 14, s. R. Pfeiffer, *Herm.*, LXIII [1928], 315).

darin einander gleich, dass sie eine Kette von Einzelgeschichten aneinanderreihen und insofern einen Typ vertreten, der durch die hesiodeischen Kataloggedichte am charakteristischsten ausgebildet worden ist.¹⁴ Freilich war die Technik der Verknüpfung inzwischen viel kunstvoller geworden, als es in den *Eöen* der Fall gewesen war, und so hat Martini,¹⁵ um jedes Präjudiz auszuschalten, den Terminus "Kataloggedicht" durch die allgemeinere Bezeichnung "Kollektivgedicht" ersetzt. Er stellt also *Metamorphosen* und *Fasti* in dieselbe Linie und meint, Ovid habe mit dem einen Werke das epische und mit dem andern das elegische Kollektivgedicht in römischer Gewandung seinen Landsleuten vor Augen führen wollen. Bisher war diese Gattung von den Lateinern noch kaum angebaut worden: Properz war mit seinem Plane eines römischen Seitenstückes zu den *Aitia* des Kallimachos nicht zu Ende gekommen, und nur Ovids älterer Freund Aemilius Macer hatte die *Ornithogonie* des Boios lateinisch bearbeitet, war aber kompositionstechnisch schwerlich über sein Vorbild hinausgeschritten. Martini sieht also gerade in dieser Richtung Ovid als den Vollender der neoterischen Bestrebungen an.

Nun pflegt man freilich auch in den *Metamorphosen* auf den Faden weniger zu achten als auf die Perlen, die daran aufgereiht sind. Man äussert sich geradezu dahin, dass manche längere Partien den Charakter von Epyllien trügen,¹⁶ und

¹⁴ Über die Katalogform in weitem Sinne s. Radermacher, 123 ff., 146 (2. Ausg., 137 ff., 162). Auch die *Metamorphosen* pflegen als Kataloggedicht betrachtet zu werden, z. B. von Teuffel-Kroll, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, II⁷, 1920, 100 f.; I. Kapp, *Philol.*, LXXXIV (1929), 176; A. Kappelmacher, *Die Literatur der Römer* (Potsd., 1934), 293. So auch M. de Cola, *Callimaco e Ovidio* (Palermo, 1937), 31 ff., obwohl sie nach Heinze auch die epische Stilisierung nicht erkennt (S. 35, 81 f.); vgl. *D. L. Z.*, 1938, 874 f. Auch L. Castiglioni, *Studi intorno alle fonti e alla composizione delle Metamorfosi di Ovidio* (Pisa, 1906), 316 ff., stellt die *Metamorphosen* in die Geschichte des Kataloggedichtes. Vgl. auch G. Lafaye, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs* (Par., 1904), 76 ff., 94, 240 (dazu seine Ausgabe I [Par., 1928], S. VII f.); Brooks Otis, *T. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), 192 f., 218 ff. (s. u. Anm. 49). Nicht ganz klar F. Skutsch, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (Leipz., 1901), 52.

¹⁵ S. 183 ff. Vgl. *Einleitung zu Ovid* (Brünn, 1933), 29 ff.

¹⁶ Lafaye, 94; Castiglioni, 10 f.; J. Stroux, 46. *Jahrbuch d. Vereins Schweizerischer Gymnasiallehrer*, 1919, 174 ff.; Teuffel-Kroll, 101; K. Zarnewski, *Die Szenerieschilderungen in Ovids Metamorphosen* (Diss. Bresl., 1925), 33; Kraus, 1944.

M. M. Crump glaubte so viele davon in dem Werke zu finden, dass sie das Ganze als ein "catalogue poem based on epyllion construction" bezeichnete.¹⁷ In der Tat gehen nicht wenige solche Partien auf epische und sonstige Kleingedichte der Griechen zurück, und es ist keine Frage, dass die Geschichten, die Ovid ausführlicher behandelt hat, so abgerundet sind, dass sie auch für sich wirken. Die kunstvolle Verknüpfung steht diesem Eindruck so wenig entgegen, dass das einzelne Gemälde sich in dem gewählten Rahmen mehr abhebt als in dem gleichlaufenden Bilderstreifen der Katalogpoesie von der Art der *Eöen* bis in die alexandrinische Zeit hinein und bis zu Ovids eigenem Gedichte *Ibis*. Und doch sind die Erzählungen der *Metamorphosen* in Wirklichkeit ebensowenig Epyllien wie die der *Fasti* Sonderelegien. Neben den breiter ausgeführten Geschichten stehen ja andere, die zu kurz abgetan sind, als dass sie selbständig gedacht werden könnten, und das Ganze ist nun einmal auf zusammenhängende Lektüre berechnet. Während Properz an seine *Aitia* in der Weise herangegangen ist, dass er einzelne Themata vorausnahm, um sie später in das Gesamtgefüge einzubauen, hat Ovid seine Kollektivgedichte von vorneherein in dem geplanten Tenor Abschnitt für Abschnitt und Buch für Buch gefördert, wofür die unvollendet gebliebenen *Fasti* deutliches Zeugnis ablegen. Wenn er nun in den *Amores* wie die andern Augusteer sogar selbständige Gedichte solchermaßen im Rahmen der Bücher anzuordnen bestrebt war, "dass erst das Ganze jedem einzelnen die volle Wirkung verleiht,"¹⁸

¹⁷ *The Epyllion from Theocritus to Ovid* (Oxf., 1931), 23, Anm. 1; 47 f., 195 ff. Das wesentliche Charakteristikum eines Epyllions findet die Verfasserin in einer Digression (*Burs. Jahresber.*, CCLV [1937], I, 73 f.). Von den über 50 Epyllien der *Metamorphosen* weist allerdings nach ihrer Zählung nur ein Drittel diese Digression wirklich auf, und manche entbehren auch einer langen Rede, die sie ersetzen könnte. Der Idealfall, wie ihn etwa die Io-Partie des I. Buches repräsentiert (S. 135, 236), ist selten; so nimmt Crump z. B. die Schöpfung und die Sintflut, die Gallus nach Verg., *Buc.* 6, 31 ff. in zwei Epyllien behandelt haben soll, zu einem zusammen, um die Lykaongeschichte als Digression zu gewinnen (S. 204, 275). Manche Digressionen erklärt sie für gleichwertig mit Epyllien, andererseits reduziert sie aber wieder ganze Epyllien und Epyllienkomplexe zu Digressionen innerhalb weitergreifender Zusammenhänge und kommt so schliesslich doch zur Anerkennung einer grossartigen Gesamtkomposition.

¹⁸ Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.*, I, 240. Zuletzt von W. Port, *Philol.*, LXXXI (1926), 450 ff., einlässlicher behandelt.

so musste er umso mehr zu erreichen hoffen können, wo er nicht darauf angewiesen war, in der Hauptsache längst fertige Stücke nachträglich an einen passenden Platz zu stellen, sondern von Grund auf nach einer vorausbestimmten Disposition schaffen konnte. Ebenso wie in den *Amores* so ist auch in den beiden grossen Sagengedichten Variatio das Hauptprinzip der Anordnung, das er in den *Metamorphosen* noch freier durchführen konnte als in den immerhin an die Zeitfolge des Kalenders gebundenen *Fasti*. Wie hier Ähnliches zusammengestellt wird, um doch wieder durch unerwartete Unähnlichkeiten zu kontrastieren, wie ganz Verschiedenes in Gegensatz zueinander tritt, wie neben bekannten Sagen abgelegene und erlesene auftauchen, wie Ernstes von Heiterem, Erschütterndes von Komischem abgelöst wird, wie die bunten Farben, die dieser Dichter auf seiner Palette hatte, in schillerndem Wechsel sich drängen, das spürt man erst, wenn man sein Werk im Ganzen liest.

Kam es Ovid also auf die Wirkung an, die die verschiedenen Geschichten in ihrer Zusammenstellung taten, so waren ihm doch auch die Übergänge selbst keineswegs blosser Notbehelf. Allerdings hat ihm schon Quint., *Inst. Or.*, IV, 1, 77 vorgeworfen, dass er sich darin zu üppig ausgelassen habe, um ihn freilich im selben Atem mit der Schwierigkeit der Aufgabe zu entschuldigen: *illa vero frigida et puerilis est in scholis adfectatio, ut ipse transitus efficiat aliquam utique sententiam et huius velut praestigiae plausum petat, ut Ovidius lascivire in Metamorphosesin solet, quem tamen excusare necessitas potest, res diversissimas in speciem unius corporis colligentem*. Gewiss liegt auch für uns der Hauptreiz der *Metamorphosen* nicht gerade in diesen Überleitungen,¹⁹ aber es war übertrieben, wenn M. Schanz urteilte, dass das Werk nur gewonnen hätte, wenn sie unterblieben wären.²⁰ Seitdem das begeisterte Urteil von V. Loers durch Liebau näher begründet worden war,²¹ haben sich viele Stimmen

¹⁹ E. Bickel, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der röm. Lit.* (Heidelb., 1937), 175.

²⁰ *Geschichte der röm. Litt.*, II, 1^a (1911), 320, vgl. 326; E. Ripert, *Ovide* (Par., 1921), 112, 115 f. Kritisch auch Lafaye, 83 f.

²¹ V. Loers, *Einleitung der Ausgabe* (Leipz., 1843), XVIII. Liebau, *De consilio artificioso quod in componendo Metamorphosium carmine secutus sit P. Ovidius Naso* (*Progr. Elberf.*, 1846). Frühere Urteile s. J. Chr. Jahn, *Ovidii opera omnia*, II, 1 (Leipz., 1832), 16 ff.

des Lobes für die Kompositionskunst Ovids erhoben,²² und eine Reihe von Spezialarbeiten sind dem Thema gewidmet worden, ohne es zu erschöpfen.²³ Wir können an dieser Stelle nicht näher darauf eingehen: was Ovid erstrebt und was er erreicht hat, wäre ja im einzelnen aufzuweisen, und dabei käme es nicht nur auf eine systematische Typologie der Übergänge an, sondern es müsste auch in fortlaufender Interpretation gezeigt werden, wie alles im Zusammenhang seinen Sinn erhält. Zeichnet man so die Linien, die der Dichter geführt hat, getreulich nach, so gewinnt man immer tiefere Achtung vor einer Kunst, die so viele Beispiele einer besonders reichen Sagengattung dermassen geschickt und spannend mit einer bunten Fülle immer wieder überraschender Motive zusammenzuflechten gewusst hat. Die Verknüpfung bleibt manchmal so wenig äusserlich, dass sie die Gestaltung der Sagen selbst beeinflusst: so erfährt z. B. Demeter V, 489 ff. den Aufenthaltsort Persephones nicht wie in den *Fasti* von Helios, sondern von der Nymphe Arethusa, da deren Verwandlung im Anschluss erzählt werden sollte,²⁴ und die Exposition des Weltenbrandes durch den Streit Phaethons mit Epaphos, die am Ende des I. Buches die Überleitung von der vorausgehenden Iopartie bildet, hat einen starken Einfluss auf die Charakterzeichnung des Jünglings ausgeübt.²⁵ Auf alle Fälle

²² C. Pascal, *Atene e Roma*, XI (1908), 346 f.; L. Malten, *Herm.*, LIII (1918), 177; LXXIV (1939), 176; Ed. Norden, *Die German. Urgeschichte in Tacitus' Germania* (Leipz. und Berl., 1920), 465; Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.*, I, 242 f.; Crump, 215 f.; H. Diller, *Hum. Gymn.*, XLV (1934), 35; M. de Cola, besonders S. 100. O. Regenbogen, *Antike*, VI (1930), 219, sieht in den *Metamorphosen* eine Analogie zu dem künstlerischen Organisationstalent Herodots. J. J. Hartman, *Mnem.*, XXXII (1904), 404 ff.; XXXIII (1905), 99 ff. (vgl. XVIII [1890], 168 ff.), betont, dass die Sorgfalt Ovids im letzten Teil (seit XIII, 399) auch in der Verknüpfungstechnik zurückgehe.

²³ Klassifikation der Übergänge von Frank J. Miller, *Class. Journ.*, XVI (1920/21), 464 ff.; Schnuchel (s. Anm. 6); Reinh. Schmidt, *Die Übergangstechnik in den Metamorphosen des Ovid* (Diss. Bresl., 1938). Mir unzugänglich F. Mathy, "Wie Ovid in den *Metamorphosen* die Episoden in die Haupthandlung einführt" (*Jahresber. Staatsgymn. Reichenberg*, 1931). Eine fortlaufende Untersuchung der Komposition einer grösseren Partie bietet W. Klimmer, *Die Anordnung des Stoffes in den ersten vier Büchern von Ovids Metamorphosen* (Diss. Erl., 1932). Wertvolle Gesichtspunkte Stroux, 171 ff.

²⁴ *Rh. Mus.*, XC (1941), 249 f.

²⁵ Vorläufig *Gnom.*, IX (1933), 29 f. Vgl. auch noch ebd. 34.

konnte sich Ovid auf den Vorgang der hellenistischen Kollektivgedichte berufen: es steht ja fest, dass er ihnen zu allen sonstigen Entlehnungen auch manche Übergangsmotive zu danken hat.²⁶ Wenn er sie durchschnittlich weniger ausgiebig ausführt, als es beispielsweise in den *Aitia* des Kallimachos der Fall war, so ist das nicht zu verwundern, da er bei der Stofffülle, die er zu bewältigen hatte, rascher vorwärtsdrängen musste.²⁷

Neben den einzelnen Übergängen beansprucht nun aber der chronologische Faden besondere Beachtung, der sich durch das ganze Werk hinzieht und die Reihe der Verwandlungen von der Entstehung der Welt bis zur Verstirnung Caesars hinabführt. Ich möchte nicht mit Crump, 198 ff. meinen, die zeitliche Ordnung sei so wenig klar und eindeutig eingehalten, dass sie für Ovid nur ein rein konventionelles Rahmenwerk bedeutet haben könne; wohl hat der Dichter, schon um den Eindruck der Einförmigkeit zu vermeiden, viele Geschichten mittels anderer Motive zwischengeschaltet, aber er hat die Hauptlinie dadurch nicht gestört: die von Crump konstituierten sachlichen Abteilungen (Götter bis VI, 420; Heroen und Heroinen bis XI, 193; Historisches von Laomedon bis Caesar) beruhen nicht auf einem Primärprinzip, sondern ergeben sich offenbar aus der chronologischen Gesamtanlage. Es lässt sich nichts davon abdingen, dass es die zeitliche Kontinuität ist, die die Disposition im ganzen bestimmt; trotz der durch die vielen Episoden verursachten Komplikation ist sie so lückenlos durchgeführt, dass Ovid ein besonderes Interesse daran gehabt haben muss. Wir haben keinen Grund zu der Annahme, dass je ein hellenistisches Kol-

²⁶ Motive der *Aitia* s. Malten, *Herm.*, LIII (1918), 174 ff.; Heinze, 96 ff.; R. Pfeiffer, *Herm.*, LXIII (1928), 303, Anm. 2; De Cola, 31 ff. (*Fasti*, 83 ff.). Motive der Kataloggedichte Castiglioni, 316 ff. Zum Stil der Kollektivpoesie gehört auch die Neigung zu Digressionen, die aber auch vom Epyllion (vgl. Anm. 17) und sogar vom grossen Epos nicht ferngehalten werden (vgl. E. Diehl, *Digressionsstil*, s. Anm. 8, dazu *D. L. Z.*, 1938, 873 f.). Es ist Crump natürlich zuzugeben, dass Ovid seine Verknüpfungstechnik auch an Digressionen von Epyllien bilden konnte, hat er sich doch z. B. II, 534 ff. an Kallimachos' *Hekale* gehalten, aber ebensogut konnte er auch von grossen Epen lernen; das reichste Material bot jedoch sicher die Kollektivpoesie.

²⁷ Daran hätte Ovid also auch bei einer letzten Retraktation nichts geändert, wie E. Diehl, *Ἱστορικὸν* (*Acta Univ. Latv., Philol. et Philos.* Ser. IV, 2 [1937]), 431 mit Anm. 29, zu glauben scheint. Vgl. J. J. Hartman, *Mnem.*, XXXIII (1905), 106 ff.

lektivgedicht in gleicher Weise komponiert gewesen wäre. Für den vergilischen Silensang, *Buc.* 6, ist ja charakteristisch, dass er zwar chronologisch beginnt, aber von der Hylassage an diese Ordnung wieder aufgibt; mehr Konsequenz wird kein Alexandriner erstrebt haben. Dass Euphorions *Μοῦσα* die Legenden Attikas in zeitlicher Reihenfolge gebracht hätte,²⁸ macht der Untertitel *Ἀτακτα* und die sonstige Epyllientechnik dieses Dichters sehr unwahrscheinlich.

Wieviel Ovid an seinem Prinzip lag, zeigt sich vor allem darin, dass er es ausdrücklich im Proömium angekündigt und *Trist.*, II, 559 f. in gleicher Formulierung noch einmal zur näheren Bezeichnung der *Metamorphosen* verwendet hat. In den an die Götter gerichteten Eingangsworten erhalten wir nun aber auch einen Fingerzeig dafür, was Ovid mit seinem Prinzip bezweckt hat: *primumque ab origine mundi ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen*. Es ist nicht so sehr der Stolz auf seine selbständige Neuerung, der aus diesen Versen spricht; ihre eigentliche Bedeutung wird erst klar, wenn man das entscheidende Wort *perpetuum* ins Griechische übersetzt: es ist soviel wie *διπνέες*,²⁹ jenes Schlagwort in dem Streite um die Berechtigung

²⁸ So Crump, 202. Aus Hor., *Carm.*, I, 7, 5 ff. (vgl. R. Merkel, *Ausgabe von Ovids Tristia und Ibis* [Berl., 1837], 370 f.) lässt sich nichts für dies Gedicht schliessen (s. Anm. 29). Die *Atthis* des Hegesinus ist problematisch (*R.-E.*, Suppl. IV, 712).

²⁹ Das ist schon von Früheren (L. Adam, *Die aristotelische Theorie vom Epos* [Wiesb., 1889], 74 f., vgl. 115; Lafaye, 77, Anm. 1; Kiessling-Heinze zu Hor., *Carm.*, I, 7, 5; Schnuchel, 5) bemerkt und nach Auffindung des Kallimachospapyrus von Pfeiffer, *Herm.*, LXIII (1928), 310, Anm. 2, u. a. aufs neue betont, aber noch nicht genügend für Ovids Kunstprinzip ausgewertet worden (vorläufig *R.-E.*, Suppl. V, 410; *Burs. Jahresber.*, CCLV [1937], I, 113; *D. L. Z.*, 1938, 875). Bei Hor., *Carm.*, I, 7, 6 steht *carmen perpetuum* wohl nicht als t. t.: er will nur sagen, "manche Dichter hörten nie auf, Athen zu preisen" (H. Schütz); zu einer chronologischen Disposition passt ja auch wenig, dass der Olivenkranz, den diese Dichter sich mit ihren Poemen aufs Haupt setzen, *undique decerpta* ist (vgl. allerdings Kroll, *Studien*, 38). Eher kommt Plin., *Epist.*, VII, 9, 9 mit dem Ausdruck *carmen continuum et longum* dem Terminus nahe; er steht übrigens auch V, 6, 4 (vgl. E. R. Curtius, *Röm. Forsch.*, LIV [1940], 124) ebenso wie Lukian, *Hist. Conscr.*, 56 f. auf einem dem kallimacheischen entgegengesetzten Standpunkt. Bei Mart., VI, 64, 10 = VII, 63, 1 ist *perpetuus* nicht mit C. Dilthey, *De Callimachi Cydippa* (Leipz., 1863), 25, in unsern Zusammenhang zu ziehen.

des grossen Epos, der in der hellenistischen Zeit bis zu feindlicher Erbitterung geführt worden ist. Im Prolog seiner *Aitia* wendet sich Kallimachos³⁰ gegen seine Widersacher, die ihm vorrückten, dass er noch nicht ἐν αἵσμα διηγεκὲς . . . ἐν πολλαῖς χιλιάσιν vollendet hatte, "einen einheitlichen Sang mit durchlaufender Handlung in vielen Tausenden von Versen." Was ihm seine Gegner als Unfähigkeit auslegten, war sein festes Stilprinzip, denn er empfand, dass die neue Zeit nur in der feinen Ausarbeitung des Einzelnen eine Möglichkeit habe, dem Fluche des Epigonentums zu entgehen. Ἐλλετε, Βασκανίης ὀλοὸν γένος, αἴθι δὲ τέχνῃ <κρίνετε>, μὴ σχοίνῳ Περσίδι τὴν σοφίην ruft er V. 17 f. den Neidlingen zu, die er im andern Lager zu finden glaubt. Der schlagende Vergleich des gegnerischen Massstabes mit der persischen Meile³¹ ist von Pindar angeregt, der in dem berühmten Eingang seines Κέρβερος die langatmig hingezogene Weise der alten Dithyrambik σχοινοτένεια genannt hatte.³² Das stimmt gut zu dem Ausdruck διηγεκὲς, der eigentlich ununterbrochene Raumstrecken bezeichnet (z. B. ἀτραπιτοί Hom., Od., XIII, 195) und so von Kallimachos *Aitia*, II, Ox. Pap., 2080, V. 66 nach dem Vorbild von Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 255 und 295 als Terminus der Geodäsie gebraucht wird,³³ aber schon seit

³⁰ E. Lobel, *Herm.*, LXX (1935), 31 ff. Zu Kallimachos' Kunstprinzip s. zuletzt *Burs. Jahresber.*, CCLV (1937), I, besonders S. 75, 111 ff., 212 ff., und *Gnom.*, XII (1936), 449 ff. Über seine Stellung zum αἷσμα διηγεκὲς im wesentlichen richtig bereits A. F. Naake, *Opuscula*, II (Bonn, 1845), 29 f., 33 ff. Auf die Vorläufer der kallimacheischen Doktrin braucht hier nicht eingegangen zu werden.

³¹ Vgl. Pfeiffer, *Herm.*, LXIII (1928), 318 f.

³² Vielleicht spielt noch eine ferne Erinnerung an das Messverfahren des aristophanischen Euripides, *Ran.* 799 hinein, obgleich dessen Gesichtspunkte andere sind (B. Snell, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* [Hamb., 1946], 112; vgl. *Antike*, XIII [1937], 253). Zu σχοινοτένεια vgl. P. Hanschke, *De accentuum Graecorum nominibus* (Diss. Bonn, 1914), 35.

³³ Vgl. *I. G.*, VII, 3073, 108 (2. Jhdt. v. Chr.): πρὸς κανόνα διηγεκῆ. Zu der Stelle der *Aitia* s. W. Ehlers, *Die Gründung von Zankle in den Aitia des Kallimachos* (Diss. Berl., 1933), 37 f., Anm. 96, der die Inkonzinnität der Diktion in dem Satz καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασκαίνει πύργον ἐγειρόμενον γεωδαίται καὶ σπάρτα διηγεκὲς εὔτε βάλλονται, στείνεα καὶ λευρὰς ὄφρα τάμωσιν ὁδοὺς verkennt. Im zweiten Glied ist das Objekt zu βασκαίνει nicht mit τοὺς γεωδαίτας aus dem Nebensatz zu ergänzen, sondern durch diesen selbst vertreten: der Vogel ἀρπαςος behext nicht die Geodäten, sondern die Stadt, und zwar sowohl den Mauerturm, der schon im Entstehen begriffen ist, als auch das Stadttinnere, das die Geodäten eben vermessen.

Hom., *Od.*, IV, 836; VII, 241; XII, 56 auch auf eine fortlaufende Rede übertragen ist. Mit diesem Worte war also die stetig durchgehende Erzählung des Epos treffend charakterisiert, die die Moderne nicht mehr zu homerischen Massen ausdehnen konnte; ein Missverständnis war umso weniger zu befürchten, als noch durch das Epitheton ἐν die Einheitlichkeit dieser Erzählung hervorgehoben war.³⁴

Der Verzicht des Kallimachos entsprang einem Originalitätsstreben, das nicht aus Opposition gegen das Alte um jeden Preis neu zu sein suchte, sondern von tiefer Bewunderung für das Unerreichbare getragen war: Homer ist als *δοῖδος ἑσχατος* anerkannt (Kall., epigr. 27), und gerade in der hellenistischen Zeit hat sich ja der Gebrauch eingebürgert, ihn als ὁ ποιητής schlechthin zu bezeichnen.³⁵ Die Persönlichkeit des blinden Sängers war noch ungebrochen; man hatte nicht den Trost, Homeride zu sein, auch nur als letzter, sei schön, und durfte also, wollte man doch in seinen Bahnen wandeln, nichts anderes erwarten, als zu der Stufe der Kykliker hinabzusinken. So verlangte Kallimachos für die moderne Zeit den schmaleren Rahmen kleinerer Gedichte, der die Vorzüge der alexandrinischen Detailkunst zur Geltung brachte: ein ἐν αἰσµα διηγεκές war nicht mehr ἐν πολλαῖς χιλιάσιν möglich, sondern nur noch in einem beschränkteren Umfang, und in diesem Sinne hatte der Meister selber ja sein Programmgedicht, die *Hekale*, geschrieben.³⁶

Zum Text von Hom. *Hymn.* 295 s. P. St. Breuning, *De hymnorum Homericorum memoria* (Diss. Utrecht, 1929), 73.

³⁴ "Αἰσµα διηγεκές = *Carmen perpetuum* bedeutet also mehr als "eine den Stoff in zusammenhängender Erzählung bietende Darstellung" (so Martini, *Einleitung*, 30) und kann nicht ein Kollektivgedicht nach Art der *Aitia* bezeichnen (so I. Kapp, *Philol.*, LXXXIV [1929], 176): die Kontinuität die der Terminus meint, ist nicht durch eine beliebige Verknüpfungsmotivik, sondern durch die zeitliche Abfolge bestimmt. Freilich wird ein solches Gedicht erst dann homerisch, wenn es einen grösseren Umfang erreicht: das ist, wie bei Kallimachos durch ἐν πολλαῖς χιλιάσιν, so bei Ovid durch *prima ab origine mundi ad mea tempora* ausgedrückt.

³⁵ A. M. Harmon, *Class. Phil.*, XVIII (1923), 35 ff. Weiter A. P. Dorjahn, ebd., XXV (1930), 284, mit Lit.

³⁶ Unzugänglich ist mir leider die Abhandlung von W. Allen, Jr., *T. A. P. A.*, LXXI (1940), 1 ff., über das Epyllion. Der Terminus Epyllion ist, wie auch Allen betont, modern; in der hellenistischen Zeit nannte man die Kleingedichte jeder Art u. a. *εἰδύλλια* (Plin., *Epist.*, IV, 14, 9; vgl. Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.*, I, 117; II, 15), doch ohne die

Trotzdem sollte ein Werk, das in die Tausende von Versen ging, nicht ausgeschlossen sein, aber es musste auf die Einheitlichkeit einer durchlaufenden Handlung verzichten und die Mannigfaltigkeit eines Kollektivgedichtes zeigen. Die *Aitia*, die vier Bücher umfassten, boten also eine bunte Reihe von Sagen, die sich in den überraschenden Wendungen des Gespräches des Dichters mit den Musen auf dem Helikon fortspann.³⁷ Wenn er im Rahmen dieses Werkes fr. 3 Pf. ἡνέκῃς αἰείδω sagt,³⁸ so gilt das nur von einer der vielen Geschichten, die sich in jedem Buche zusammenfanden. Ein solches Kollektivgedicht stand in der Nachfolge der *Lyde* des Antimachos, und so schloss sich Kallimachos seinem Vorgänger in der metrischen Form an, freilich nur, um ihn desto augenfälliger in seinem eigenen Genre auszustechen. Als er hingegen das Muster des modernen διηγηκῆς aufstellen wollte, hatte es näher gelegen, das hexametrische Mass zu wählen, um das moderne Kleinepos möglichst scharf gegen das alte Grossepos abzusetzen. An sich machte seine Theorie zwischen Epos und Elegie keinen Unterschied,³⁹ denn beide Masse waren für die Erzählung sanktioniert, wenn sie auch eine gewisse Stildifferenzierung bedingten. Nur so war es ja möglich, dass er sich für seine Dichtungsart nicht auf einen Elegiker, sondern auf Hesiod als Autorität berief und gerade seine *Aitia* durch ihre Einkleidung und mit ausdrücklichen Worten als hesiodeisches Gedicht charakterisierte.⁴⁰

Kallimachos hat das Wesen seiner Dichtung vorwiegend unter

Vorstellung noch damit zu verbinden, dass jedes Gedicht sein besonderes *ēdos* ("Ton") habe (E. Bickel, *Glotta*, XXIX [1941], 29 ff.).

³⁷ Ich neige zu der Annahme, dass das Gespräch durch das ganze Werk hindurchging, s. *Burs. Jahresber.*, a. O., besonders S. 116, 129 f., 139 f. Vgl. auch Diehl, *Ἱπποσύνη*, 429 ff. P. Maas, *Papiri della r. Univ. di Milano*, I (Fir., 1937), 165, hält auch für möglich, dass das IV. Buch aus Einzelgedichten bestand. Die einzelnen Bücher der *Aitia* umfassten etwa 1000 Verse (Maas, 169 f.; vgl. schon A. S. Hunt, *Ox. Pap.*, XVII, 1927, S. 46; E. Cahen, *Rev. ét. gr.*, XLVIII [1935], 320).

³⁸ Vgl. Wilamowitz, *Sitzb. Berl.*, 1925, 232 = *Kleine Schriften*, V, 2, 111. Früher Diltthey, *Call. Cyd.*, 25 f.

³⁹ Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.*, I, 117, Anm. 2; 231; II, 96. *Burs. Jahresber.*, a. O., 73, 91, 111, 114, Anm. 2. Vgl. F. Jacoby, *Rh. Mus.*, LXV (1910), 71, Anm. 1.

⁴⁰ über Hesiod als Vorbild der modernen Epik s. E. Reitzenstein, *Festschr. R. Reitzenstein* (Leipz. und Berl., 1931), 41 ff. Vgl. *Burs. Jahresber.*, a. O., 214 f.

dem Gesichtspunkt der τέχνη angesehen, die sich nur dann entfalten konnte, wenn sie ein Thema bloss über eine kleine Strecke zu führen hatte. Dass die Reduktion der Form aber noch tiefer begründet war und mit der Herabstimmung des Tons und der Verringerung der göttlichen und heroischen Distanz organisch zusammenhing, hat er nicht deutlich ausgesprochen und sich vielleicht auch nicht klar zum Bewusstsein gebracht.⁴¹ Obwohl nun sein künstlerisches Gefühl einer starken Zeitströmung entsprach, hat sich die Richtung, deren Wortführer er war, nicht voll durchgesetzt, umso weniger, als die Gegner in seinem eigenen Schüler Apollonios von Rhodos einen prominenten Repräsentanten erhielten,⁴² ganz zu schweigen von andern Dichtern, die nicht wie Apollonios neuen Wein in den alten Schlauch gossen, sondern in ihrer ganzen Art Geist und Charakter der alten Epik zu wahren suchten.⁴³ Bei den Römern schrieben jedoch die Neoteriker das kallimacheische Stilprinzip auf ihr Panier, aber als sich die augusteische Zeit von dem grundsätzlichen Alexandrinismus loslöste, verlangte sie als Ausdruck ihres neuen Wollens wieder die Form des homerischen Epos, und der Erfolg der *Aeneis* liess die Nachahmungen üppig ins Kraut schießen.⁴⁴ Doch fehlte es auch nicht an Dichtern, die sich diesem Strome entzogen und bescheidenere Gattungen kultivierten, wie Horaz (*Carm.*, I, 6; II, 12; IV, 15; vgl. *Sat.*, I, 10, 36 ff.; II, 1, 10 ff.; *Epist.*, II, 1, 250 ff.)⁴⁵ und ursprünglich auch Vergil selber (*Buc.* 6, vgl. *Georg.*, II, 176); aber eine prinzipielle Ablehnung der grossen Form war nun nicht mehr möglich, und damit ver-

⁴¹ Es ist nur ein Nebenklang, wenn er den Stoffkreis des grossen Epos nach dem Musterbild der *Ilias* mit den Taten von Königen und Heroen bestimmt, worin ihm Hor., *A.P.*, 73 und andere Römer (W. Kroll, *Sokrates*, IV [1916], 1 f.) gefolgt sind.

⁴² Zum Streit des Kallimachos und Apollonios s. zuletzt *Rh. Mus.*, XCI (1942), 310 ff.

⁴³ K. Ziegler, *Das hellenistische Epos* (Leipz. und Berl., 1934), vgl. *Burs. Jahresber.*, a. O., 76 f.

⁴⁴ Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.*, I, 241; Martini, *Ἐπιτύμβιον*, 178, Anm. 33; 183. Kykliker der neoterischen Zeit s. W. Kroll, *Sokrates*, IV (1916), 7, Anm. 2.

⁴⁵ Der Gegensatz von epischer und lyrischer Dichtung liegt jedoch nicht in *Carm.*, IV, 2 vor, wie Ed. Fraenkel, *Sitzb. Heidelb.*, 1932/3, Abh. 2, gezeigt hat. Zu I, 6 und II, 12 s. Fraenkel, 20 ff.; zu IV, 15 ebd. 26 f. Vgl. noch G. Pasquali, *Orazio lirico* (Fir., 1920), 301 ff. Der Topos auch *Culex*, 26 ff.; *Paneg. in Mess.*, 177 ff.

lagerte sich das Dilemma in den Bereich der persönlichen Neigung oder Eignung des Einzelnen. In diesem Sinne wurde die Frage denn auch für die Elegiker akut, und hier schied sich nun diese Gattung, die jetzt vorzugsweise zum Gefäss subjektiv—erotischer Ergiessung geworden war, von der erzählenden Epik.⁴⁶ Gallus musste nach Verg., *Buc.* 6, 64 ff., der wohl dessen eigenes Motiv benutzt, vom Tal des Permessos zum Helikon steigen, um dort die Syrinx des Askräers zu erhalten: er erhob sich also von der Elegie zum Epos, erreichte aber nur die Höhenlage Hesiods, ohne den von Kallimachos offen gelassenen Bereich zu überschreiten. Für Tibull hat Domitius Marsus in seinem Grabepigramm den heroischen Sang im starken Versmasse als eine Zukunftsperspektive betrachtet, die der Dichter schwerlich gerechtfertigt haben würde, auch wenn er nicht eines frühen Todes gestorben wäre. Properz hat ebenso wie Horaz der Versuchung widerstanden, ein nationales Epos zu dichten; er beschränkte ausdrücklich den Spielraum seiner Kleinkunst auf die Elegie und spielte Philitas und Kallimachos als Autoritäten dieser Gattung gegen die Epik überhaupt aus, ohne die Möglichkeit des Epyllions zu diskutieren (s. I, 7; II, 1, 10, 13, 34; III, 1/2, 3, 9; IV, 1). Schliesslich übernahm auch Ovid⁴⁷ das Motiv des Gegensatzes des Elegikers zum Epiker (*Am.*, I, 1; II, 1, 18; III, 12, 15 f.; *Rem.* 371 ff.; vgl. noch *Ex Ponto*, III, 3, 29 ff.) und dichtete sich in seiner spielerischen Manier sogar den Versuch einer Gigantomachie an, den die Geliebte zunichte gemacht habe (*Am.*, II, 1, 11 ff.);⁴⁸ später hat er stattdessen *Trist.*, II, 317 ff. davon gesprochen, er habe die Taten des Augustus besingen wollen, sich dieser grossen Aufgabe aber nicht gewachsen gefühlt.

Nichtsdestoweniger hat ihn die erotische Poesie, so mannigfach er sie zu variieren wusste, auf die Dauer nicht ausgefüllt, und als er es daher unternahm, die Überlieferungen der griechischen und römischen Vorzeit dichterisch zu behandeln, stand er wirklich am Scheidewege zwischen Epos und Elegie. Es ist

⁴⁶ Dilthey, 1; Heinze, 2, Anm. 2; E. Reitzenstein, *Festschr. R. Reitzenstein*, 52 ff. (vgl. *Burs. Jahresber.*, a. O., 115 f.).

⁴⁷ E. Reitzenstein, *Rh. Mus.*, LXXXIV (1935), 62 ff.

⁴⁸ Dass er wirklich ein solches Epos gedichtet hätte, ist unwahrscheinlich (F. Pfister, *Rh. Mus.*, LXX [1915], 472 ff.; Reitzenstein, a. O., 77, 81 f., Anm. 2, 87 f.; Brooks Otis, 201; Kraus, 1972).

bezeichnend für sein leichtes Talent, dass er sich zutraute, auf beiden Sätteln gerecht zu sein: er nahm die Elegie in ihrer erzählenden Spezies wieder auf und griff gleichzeitig zur epischen Form. So schaffte er sich nicht nur die Gelegenheit, den Stil der beiden Gattungen zum äussersten zu präzisieren, sondern ging sogar so weit, den Agon, in dem Kallimachos und seine Gegner sich gemessen hatten, in der eigenen Produktion aufs neue zu entfesseln. Dass er sich auf der niederen Stufe den Dichter, der damals als der *princeps elegiae* galt, zum Führer erkör, ist nur natürlich: seine *Fasti* zeigen tatsächlich im Sinne des Kallimachos den hesiodeischen *χαρακτήρ*, indem sie ein Dispositionsschema anwenden, das die einzelnen Geschichten aneinanderreicht, ohne sie in einer fortschreitenden Linie der Entwicklung zu einer Einheit zu verschmelzen. Repräsentierte dieses Werk also auch in seiner Anlage das elegische Genos in reinsten Ausprägung, so sollte das epische Gegenstück nicht weniger der Inbegriff seiner Gattung werden: hier konnte er sich also nicht im Rahmen des kallimacheischen Programms halten, sondern musste ein *ἐν ἄεισμα διηγεκὲς* gestalten, ohne den Höchstumfang zu respektieren, den der alexandrinische Koryphaeos zugelassen hatte. Wollte er die epische Dichtung auf ihre strengste Form bringen, so musste er die Bahn Homers beschreiten, und diesem Stilwillen hat er gleich im Proömium Ausdruck gegeben, indem er das Werk aufgrund der alexandrinischen Schulterminologie als *carmen perpetuum* bezeichnete.⁴⁹ Nun hätte es allerdings seinem leicht vom Einen zum Andern schweifenden Geiste sicher nicht gelegen, die Nachahmungen

⁴⁹ Brooks Otis (s. Anm. 14) betont richtig, dass sich die *Metamorphosen* durch ihre historische Kontinuität aus der Reihe der Kollektivgedichte herausheben, stellt sie aber doch in die hesiodeische Tradition: das ist vom heutigen Standpunkt aus nicht unberechtigt, aber nicht im Sinne des Schöpfers des Werkes selbst, der hier ausgesprochenermassen der homerischen Devise folgte. Die Hesiodzitate des Ps.-Lactant., I, 1, Z. 4 und 10 Slater, gehen nicht auf die Kunstform, sondern auf den Inhalt. Auch Stroux, 172 (vgl. Schnuchel, 6; Kraus, 1938) urteilt als moderner Beobachter, wenn er sagt, dass die *Metamorphosen* zwei innerlich verschiedene Formen vereinigen, "ein auf weitem Plan ruhendes Epos nach Art der griechischen Klassiker und die elegante, bewegliche, aufs Einzelne gerichtete Erzählungskunst der modischen Alexandriner." Ähnlich Lafaye (s. Anm. 14), der die *Metamorphosen* zugleich an die kyklische Epik und die hesiodeische Katalogpoesie anknüpft.

der *Aeneis* um eine weitere zu vermehren: eine Gigantomachie würde er auch jetzt nicht ernstlich in Angriff genommen haben. So blieb er auch im Felde des Epos bei einem Kollektivthema, aber er verknüpfte seine Verwandlungsgeschichten nicht wie Nikander mit wechselnden Motiven, sondern suchte sie, so disparat sie auch waren, doch in eine kontinuierliche Linie zu bringen, indem er sie zeitlich aufeinander folgen liess und so gleichsam eine Weltgeschichte in Verwandlungen schuf. Damit hatte er einen Handlungsablauf erzielt, wie er ihm für das grosse Epos gefordert schien, und die stilistische Absicht durchgeführt, die er im Eingang des Werkes programmatisch angekündigt hatte.⁵⁰

Es bedeutete freilich ein Äusserstes an ζῆλος Ὀμηρικός, wenn er das Gesetz des epischen Genos einem Stoffe aufdrängte, der ihm so wenig entgegenkam. Aristoteles' Anforderungen erfüllt Ovids Gedicht nicht;⁵¹ denn auch in historischer Abfolge gewinnen die vielen Handlungen der *Metamorphosen* nicht die Einheitlichkeit einer einzigen, aus der man kein Glied wegnehmen könnte, ohne den Zusammenhang des Ganzen zu stören; die *Metamorphosen* erreichen nicht die innere Geschlossenheit und Zielstrebigkeit der *Ilias* und der *Odysee* oder auch der *Aeneis*, ja noch nicht einmal die äussere Abrundung einer *Herakleis* oder *Theseis*, die doch wenigstens durch die Person ihres Helden zusammengehalten wird und nicht einen so unüberschaubar langen Zeitraum durchmisst. Ovid band sich allerdings recht streng an sein Thema;⁵² aber damit war zwar eine Gleichförmigkeit, aber nicht eine Zusammengehörigkeit der vielen Variationen dieses Themas gegeben. Bei Ovid finden wir nicht die in breitem Strome vorwärtsfliessende und sich Zeit

⁵⁰ "Ovidium felicissime heroici carminis unitatem aemulari" urteilte schon Liebau (s. Anm. 21), 8. Hingegen meint E. Norden bei Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswiss.*, I (1910), 509 (I, 4³, 1927, 63): "Aber einem Griechen musste doch das carmen perpetuum, eine Metamorphosen-Enzyklopädie παρὰ τὸ ἔπος, als eine poetische Unmöglichkeit erscheinen."

⁵¹ J. Heumann, *De epyllio Alexandrino* (Diss. Leipz., 1904), 60 ff., über das Verhältnis des Epyllions zu den aristotelischen Forderungen.

⁵² Einzig die Achaemenidesgeschichte entbehrt einer Verwandlung, doch ist sie nur eine Übergangspartie (*Gnom.*, IX [1933], 35 f., Anm. 3). Richtig ist allerdings, dass die Verwandlung in manchen Sagen nur eine akzidentelle Rolle spielt (Crump, 197 ff.).

lassende Erzählung des echten Epos, die selbst die *Argonautika* des Apollonios noch nicht ganz eingebüsst haben, sondern ein unstetes Drängen von einem zum andern Bild, das sich selten Musse zu längerem Verweilen gönnt. Dieser unruhige Wechsel ist eben der Art des Kallimachos viel näher verwandt, als es der Autor selber hätte wahrhaben wollen. Bei aller Organisationskunst ist Ovids Epos kein wirkliches *ἔπος* geworden,⁵³ aber dafür hat es sich die bunte Pracht und reizvolle Mannigfaltigkeit seines Mythenstrausses unverblasst erhalten. Es ist in der Tat das einzige Dichtwerk, das uns die antike Sagenwelt in ihrer verschwenderischen Fülle vor die Augen zu zaubern vermag, und sicher ist ihm vorzugsweise zu danken, dass diese Sagen auch wirklich durch die Jahrhunderte lebendig geblieben sind. Ovid bewegt sich hier in den Bahnen des hohen Stils und bildet die Epik Vergils weiter,⁵⁴ aber in seiner ganzen Haltung verleugnet sein Gedicht doch ebensowenig wie Apollonios' *Argonautika* den Alexandrinismus und ist nicht zuletzt Geist vom Geist seines Schöpfers.⁵⁵ Man spürt, dass dem Ovid sein Thema zuerst und vor allem ein Spiel seines Esprits ist, wenn er es auch besonders durch die Pythagorasrede des XV. Buches in naturphilosophischer Sicht sehr vertieft hat.⁵⁶ Wir werden also auch nicht erwarten, dass ihm sein Kunstprinzip eine Sache heiliger Überzeugung gewesen wäre: die Idee, den epischen Stil mit dem elegischen zu kontrastieren, ermöglichte ihm eine Komplikation seiner Aufgabe, die seine *ars* in ihrer unerhörten

⁵³ Lafaye, 117 u. s. (Ausgabe I, S. VI f.); Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.*, II, 1³ (1911), 326; Martini, *Ἐπιτύμβιον*, 171; A. Rohde, *De Ovidi arte epica*, 39, 54. Anders Stroux, 176; R. Schmidt, 7.

⁵⁴ H. Diller, *Hum. Gym.*, XLV (1934), 25 ff.

⁵⁵ "Ceterum in omnibus operis maximi partibus poeta proprius ac sibi tantum similis apparet," Loers, XIX.

⁵⁶ *Gnom.*, IX (1933), 40 f. So auch—mir leider unzugänglich—Slater, *Occasional Publications of the Classical Association*, No. 1 (Crump, 211, Anm. 1). Vgl. auch Kraus, 1940. Brooks Otis, 220 ff., betont ebenfalls mit vollem Recht die philosophische Unterbauung der *Metamorphosen* und zudem das patriotische Finale, aber er scheint mir zu weit zu gehen, wenn er zwischen *Metamorphosen* und *Fasti* einen über die Stilverschiedenheit hinausreichenden Gegensatz in dem Sinne konstituiert, dass in den *Metamorphosen* sich ein ernstes Interesse am Mythos geltend mache, in den *Fasti* jedoch der vaterländische Gegenstand zumeist von der scherzhaften Behandlung verdunkelt sei.

Wendigkeit umso glänzender zu entfalten erlaubte;⁵⁷ ein wahres ἀπροσδόκητον aber bedeutete das Unternehmen, die Verwandlungsgeschichten zu einer fortlaufenden epischen Handlung zu verketteten, und so entspricht der überraschenden Ankündigung des Proömiums der zukunftssichere Triumph über die grosse Leistung, dem er nach vollbrachtem Werk im Epilog stolzen Ausdruck gibt.⁵⁸ Die Römer trösteten sich zuweilen über ihre Abhängigkeit von den Griechen damit hinweg, dass sie die griechischen Originale übertroffen zu haben glaubten:⁵⁹ in seiner Weise könnte Ovid das auch für seine beiden Sagengedichte in Anspruch genommen haben, und in gewisser Hinsicht stellen sie wirklich einen Abschluss dar, über den nicht mehr hinauszukommen war.

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⁵⁷ Vgl. Kraus, 1976.

⁵⁸ Stroux, 172 f.

⁵⁹ Cic., *Tusc.*, I, 1, und *Rep.* II, 30, vgl. *De Or.*, I, 15 (Kroll, *Studien*, 4; G. Liebers, *Virtus bei Cicero* [Diss. Leipz., 1942], 153). Kein ganz originaler Gedanke, denn schon Plat., *Epinom.* 987 DE rühmt von den Griechen, dass sie alles, was sie von den Barbaren übernommen hätten, schöner und vollendeter gemacht hätten (vgl. Phot., *Bibl.*, cod. 249, p. 441 a, 22 ff.). Unzugänglich blieben mir leider bis jetzt u. a. auch die Werke von F. A. Wright, *Three Roman Poets, Plautus, Catullus, Ovid* (Lond., 1938), und H. Fraenkel, *Ovid, A Poet Between Two Worlds* (Univ. of California Press, 1945). S. Lauffer verdanke ich mehrere Auskünfte.

THE FOUNDATION OF THURII.

H. T. Wade-Gery
sexagenario.

The foundation of Thurii¹ was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable events of Athenian policy in the time of Pericles' leadership. Unfortunately, it is also one of the many events not mentioned—for whatever reason—by Thucydides.² Diodorus alone gives a fairly coherent story, and thus is our main source: everybody knows what this fact involves. There are other sources which to some extent confirm Diodorus' story. But important questions remain disputed, such as the chronology of the events, which is more than a mere question of dates. And even the policy behind the whole enterprise has gained quite a new aspect since Professor Wade-Gery, in a brilliant and provocative article,³ expressed the view that Thucydides, son of Melesias, the oligarchic opponent of Pericles, was responsible for an important part of the policy which determined the foundation of Thurii. It was, according to Wade-Gery (p. 219), "a project conceived

¹ As Wade-Gery has seen (*J. H. S.*, LII [1932], p. 217, n. 48), Thucydides uses the form *Θούπια* for the city, and *Θούπιοι* for the people and therefore also for the State. The original Latin form was undoubtedly Thurii, and that leads back to *Θούπιοι*. We find *Θούπιοι* as the name of the city as early as Ps.-Andocides, IV, 121, and Plato, *Euthyd.*, 271 B; later, e. g., in Strabo, VI, 263 and Plutarch, *Præc. Ger. Reip.*, 812 d. I think we may retain the more familiar forms, either Thourioi or Thurii. *Θούπιον* and Thurium are used by some of the later writers, in particular by geographers and, e. g., Diodorus, XII, 10, 6, where he actually speaks of the naming of the new city. Still, this seems no sufficient reason for insisting on the form Thurium, as the numismatists do.

² A. W. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, I, p. 369, considers the omission of Thurii the most serious among the many omissions in Thucydides' summary of the Pentacontaetia. His explanation that probably "he had only written down some notes on the period . . . (and) intended to make it later a full summary," hardly does justice to the work as we have it.

³ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 205 ff. This article is quoted henceforth by the author's name only. P. Cloché's verdict on Wade-Gery's theory is: "hypothèse intéressante, mais rien n'en prouve l'exactitude" (*L'Ant. Cl.*, XIV [1945], p. 100, n. 1).

by imperialists, but its execution marred by men who disliked it." It seems worth while to discuss the matter once more.

Sybaris had been destroyed by Croton for the second time within half a century. Diodorus, XI, 90, 2 puts this event in the year 448/7, and there is no reason to doubt the date. The city had then been in existence for five years only (*ibid.*, XII, 10, 2). We have coins of this "second" Sybaris which show the emblem of the "first" Sybaris, a bull turning his head and biting his back.⁴ Shortly after 448/7, the surviving Sybarites, eager to rebuild their city, sought help in Sparta and Athens.

The outcome of the request, after Sparta's refusal, was the foundation of a colony under the guidance of Athens. The chronology of the events connected with this act of colonisation and, in consequence, the facts themselves, are uncertain. Diodorus (XII, 7; 10, 3) puts the whole affair under the archonship of Callimachus, that is to say, in the year 446/5; another tradition mentions the archon Praxiteles of the year 444/3 (Ps.-Plutarch, *Vita decem Orat.*, 835c).⁵ The later date was also the basis for the ancient chronologers who placed in 444/3 the *akmé* of Herodotus, Protagoras, and even Empedocles.⁶ The

⁴ *B. M. C. Italy*, pp. 284 f., nos. 15-17; the coins of the period down to 510 B. C. are nos. 1-14. Another surprisingly large group (nos. 18-30) of the period before 448 shows Poseidon on the obverse and the Sybarite bull (or in a few cases a bird) on the reverse. Although the legend on all these coins is ΣΤ or ΣΤΒΑ, it seems likely that they as well as a corresponding coin of Poseidonia with Poseidon and bull (Head, *H. N.*, 81) refer to a close connection between the two cities. The same is clearly expressed in one other coin (*B. M. C.*, p. 287, no. 1); here we read ΣΤ beside the figure of Poseidon and ΠΟΣ beside the bull—a chiasm particularly significant for the close relations between the two States. The large number of Poseidon coins, compared with the few coins of Sybaris proper, if not merely adventitious, suggests that the second Sybaris contained a high percentage of non-Sybarites, a fact only natural after the Sybarites had been homeless for more than fifty years. Was Poseidonia their refuge during that time?

⁵ Although Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lys.*, 1, p. 453, works out as 443/2 (cf. Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 386, n. 1), he does confirm 444/3 rather than the earlier date. For, 443/2 obviously being impossible, it is easier to assume a mistake of one year than of three, since Dionysius does not give an absolute date; he speaks of "the twelfth year before the Peloponnesian War."

⁶ Gellius, *N. A.*, XV, 23. Diogenes Laertius, IX, 50; VIII, 52. Cf. F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 268. J. S. Morrison, *C. Q.*, XXXV (1941), p. 2.

decision which year to choose would be easy if Diodorus' date were only another example of his habit of putting the story of several years under the heading of one year. But he stresses that date by mentioning the event a second time and adding again the name of the archon. Thus it is safe to assume that both dates represent reliable traditions and that both played a part in the story of Sybaris and Thurii as told by the Atthidographi.

Modern scholars agree that the real act of colonisation belongs to the later year, but they disagree about the significance of the earlier date. Since for various reasons 446/5 is an impossible date for the great Panhellenic expedition, some historians thought it best to ignore the earlier year altogether.⁷ This is clearly against all sound method, and provides no solution. It seems now the more or less accepted view that some sort of expedition did take place in 446/5.⁸ Even Diodorus, who in general does not distinguish two different events, provides perhaps an indication of an earlier expedition. He tells us (XII, 10, 4) that the Athenians sent first a squadron of ten ships and mentions as their commanders Lampon and Xenocritus, the men who actually led the main expedition. This small force of ten ships can hardly belong to the final action. It may have been a first gesture of help for the Sybarites, and it is possible that the ten ships of Diodorus brought the colonists who joined with the Sybarites in the foundation of the "third" Sybaris, of which I shall speak presently.⁹ The doubts, on the other hand, of Busolt¹⁰ seem well justified; the number of ten may have derived from the fact that the final expedition was led by ten men among whom Lampon was the outstanding figure (Schol. Aristophanes, *Nub.* 332).

⁷ It is surprising to find among them such great names as those of Eduard Meyer, Beloch, and Glotz. It is, on the other hand, equally surprising to find J. Perret (see note 23) without any hesitation fixing the foundation of Thurii in 446.

⁸ Apart from Wade-Gery; cf., e.g., F. E. Adcock, *C. A. H.*, V, p. 169; E. Ciaceri, *Storia di Magna Grecia*, II, pp. 435 ff.; P. Cloché, *L'Ant. Cl.*, XIV (1945), p. 98.

⁹ Cf. Ciaceri, p. 347, n. 5. But his comparison with the sending of ten ships to Coreyra (Thucydides, I, 45) is off the point. The aims of the two expeditions were completely different.

¹⁰ *Griech. Geschichte*, III, 1, p. 530, n. 3.

Be that as it may, any reconstruction of the course of events will have to start from the facts, and not from the dates. The tradition of a double event has rightly been combined with the clear evidence that the foundation of Thurii was preceded by the foundation of a new, the "third," Sybaris. Thurii was founded in a different place after the expulsion of the Sybarites by the other colonists (Strabo, VI, 263). We have to distinguish two phases of one general event. This story is confirmed again by numismatic evidence. There is a group of coins all of which have the legend ΣΥΒΑ or ΣΥΒΑΠΙ and show on the obverse the head of Athena.¹¹ This makes it clear that Athens had a special share in the foundation of the third Sybaris. On the reverse of the coins, there appeared at first the old Sybarite emblem of the bull biting his back (or flank).¹² Soon, however, it was changed into a bull with lowered head.¹³ This could perhaps be explained as simply an artistic alteration. But the new type prevailed later in Thurii, though with slight variations, and the earlier type was never used again. It seems obvious that the change had a real significance and probably reflected a political change. The connection with the Sybaris of the past, as was only natural, grew less close in the new foundation.¹⁴ It seems almost a symbol that the bull no longer looked back. The coins of Thurii retained both the head of Athena and the bull with lowered head; they are, in fact, in their style as well as their types, the closest possible continuation of the last Sybaris coins.¹⁵

¹¹ *B. M. C.*, p. 286, nos. 31-36; cf. Head, *H. N.*, 85.

¹² Nos. 31, 33, 34; cf. C. T. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pl. XVIII, 4.

¹³ No. 32. For this new type cf. *C. A. H.*, Plates, II, 4b. There are also coins with only a bull's head (nos. 35-36).

¹⁴ Cf. also K. von Fritz, *Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy*, p. 70.

¹⁵ *B. M. C.*, pp. 287 ff.; cf. Seltman, *loc. cit.*, nos. 5 and 6; G. F. Hill, *Select Greek Coins* (1927), pl. LV, 1 and 3. Since the new type first appeared in Sybaris and not in Thurii, it is hardly justifiable to explain the bull with the lowered head as a *θούριος βούς* (R. Pappritz, *Thurii* [1891], p. 17), although it is true that he was depicted in a more and more "offensive" attitude. The head of Athena on the Thurii coins (nos. 1 ff.) is very similar indeed to that of the Sybaris coins (nos. 31 ff.). Even if this Athena was Athena Scyletria, a sea-goddess worshipped on the shores of Bruttium (Head, 87), it is most unlikely that when she was first introduced on the coins, this should not have been under Athenian influence. Seltman (in *C. A. H.*) simply states: "The obverse type . . . is Athenian."

The bull certainly maintained a Sybarite tradition, probably just because there was now a new, if unimportant, "fourth" Sybaris, the foundation of the expelled Sybarites. The Thurians naturally did their best to keep it down, and retained the bull coins which were a popular currency.

Athens in 446 was certainly not able to do much, and even in the immediately following years, when peace in Greece was restored and building activity came into full swing, there was hardly ever the wish or the opportunity to send a large body of Athenian citizens to Italy. Yet this negative position was turned by Pericles into a positive and fertile idea. Athens—so much was clear from the very beginning of the whole action—was to lead the new colony. The head of Athena on the coins of the third Sybaris is full proof for this fundamental aspect. The new colony was to be a re-settlement of Sybaris, and that implied, at any rate, that elements of different origin were to join in the colonisation. Even the old city of Sybaris had been a combined foundation of Achaeans and Troezenians.¹⁶ Now Athens was to give the lead in a new foundation that could hardly be based on anything but a new and more extensive mixture of population.

Diodorus tells us (XII, 10, 4) that an invitation to join the colony went out to the Peloponnesians. In the final settlement at Thurii colonists of the most varied parts of the Greek world participated.¹⁷ It seems only natural to assume that, since Diodorus' narrative certainly contains a confusion of events belonging to either 446/5 or 444/3, the specific point of the Athenian invitation to the Peloponnesians belongs to the earlier year.¹⁸ Was it, as is frequently suggested, "a gesture of reconciliation," directly to Corinth and indirectly to Sparta?¹⁹ Who were the Peloponnesians who accepted the invitation? Neither Sparta nor Corinth nor Megara nor, in fact, any of Sparta's

¹⁶ Aristotle, *Pol.*, 1303a 29 ff. Strabo, VI, 263. Cf. also note 4, above, on the second Sybaris.

¹⁷ We shall deal with this later in full detail.

¹⁸ This is, of course, not certain. But if the invitation belongs to the events of 444/3, the essential parts of the interpretation given in the text hold equally good.

¹⁹ Wade-Gery, p. 217, accepts at least to some extent Mr. O'Neill's "sop to Corinth." He realises that Corinth was not represented in the ethnical tribes of Thurii, but does not draw the necessary conclusions. See below.

Peloponnesian allies appear among the names of the *phylae* of Thuri, our only evidence for the composition of the colony. The Peloponnesian League was not represented in Thuri, unless we assume that, e. g., Tegea could be hidden in the *Arkas* and Corinth in the *Doris*. We shall see that this was exactly what happened. But it does not mean that any members of the Peloponnesian League were ever asked by Athens to join.

It is altogether doubtful whether any State as such joined in the enterprise. The Athenian envoys were probably allowed by the various governments to address the people. But we never hear of an official assignment of colonists, and no leader from any of these States is mentioned in the story of the act of colonisation. As is the case of earlier colonies, only individuals joined in, and Diodorus' τῷ βουλευμένῳ μετέχειν τῆς ἀποικίας is true in a literary sense. The novel feature in this case was that the plan of sending out the colony was proclaimed far and wide, and not only among some neighboring or related cities. This combination of general scope and individual share was essential if the Athenian leadership of the whole scheme was to be achieved. If Diodorus means to say that Athens sent envoys to the Peloponnesians only, this is obvious nonsense if applied to the final expedition. His words may, however, indicate that the scheme at first did not cover the whole of Greece. Perhaps Pericles wished to make certain that men from some of the Peloponnesian States were willing to join; it was both courtesy and sensible policy to ask those places from which the original colonists of Sybaris had come.²⁰ At the same time, however, Athens herself and probably part of her empire were included from the beginning,²¹ while it seems incredible that when asking "the Peloponnesians" Pericles should actually have asked States belonging to Sparta's League, or even Sparta herself who had just refused the request of the Sybarites.²² What he did was the natural consequence of his

²⁰ Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 527, n. 4.

²¹ This is clear from the breaking-up of the third Sybaris. Strabo, VI, 263, says that the Sybarites were either killed or expelled "by the Athenians and the other Greeks." If some Peloponnesians joined in this action, they did so because they stood under the sway of Athenian leadership. Most of the "other Greeks" must have been Athenian allies.

²² It is not necessary to understand (with Cloché, *loc. cit.*, p. 96) Diodorus' ἐκήρυξαν κατὰ τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις as "informer toutes les villes du Péloponnèse."

decision to undertake the foundation of a new Sybaris. It seems by far the simplest interpretation of the diverging traditions to assume that the expedition of 446/5, naturally on a small scale and covering only part of the Greek world, was to prepare the way for the Panhellenic colony under Athenian leadership, which even then was being planned by Pericles. It goes without saying that it took some time to prepare the extensive final scheme, but it was launched as early as circumstances allowed—only two years after the first expedition had gone out.

It is a well-known fact that this policy of Pericles' had its forerunners. For some time past, Athens had taken an interest in the West. This is usually explained on economic grounds; but essentially it was political. Democratic Athens, keen on some sort of leadership of the Ionian cities and acting as a successor to Miletus which had been in very close connection with Sybaris, felt herself strongly bound to the fate of this city, the victim of Dorian and aristocratic Croton. When Themistocles called two of his daughters Italia and Sybaris (Plutarch, *Them.*, 32, 2), whatever the special reasons for this surprising choice of names may have been, his own imperialistic ideas were revealed by them, and probably met with a certain popular feeling. Herodotus (VIII, 62) tells the story of Themistocles threatening the allies with the emigration of the Athenians to the site of Siris, a former neighbour town of Sybaris, alleged to have been in close connection with Athens from early times. There is probably very little, if any, historical truth in this last allegation,²³ but Siris was an Ionian city, and before it was destroyed in the second half of the sixth century it seems to have been, at least for some time, dependent on Sybaris, though nominally free.²⁴ Whatever Themistocles may have said, what Herodotus

²³ Cf. Beloch, I, 2, pp. 238 ff. Ciaceri, II, p. 341. Some time after sending off my MS, I was able to read the elaborate study of J. Perret, *Siris* (1941). I am glad to see that in some essential points Perret comes to the same conclusions as I do, but in much of his argument he heaps one ingenious and doubtful hypothesis upon another.

²⁴ This, and not the "formidable commercial rivalry" with Sybaris, seems to be confirmed by the common coins of Siris and Pyxos (Head, 83). Among the twenty-five cities subject to Sybaris (Strabo, *loc. cit.*) were probably also Siris and Pyxos—an extension which made Sybaris mistress of the whole area between sea and sea. Perret speaks fittingly of a Sybarite empire. But his assumption that Siris had been for

wrote is significant. He, who went to Thurii and was one of Pericles' most ardent admirers, reflects in this perhaps tendentious fabrication of early traditions the policy of Pericles.

Some years previously Pericles had begun to find for Athens a foothold in the West when a treaty was concluded between Athens and Egesta.²⁵ A few years later, though the exact date cannot be stated and it may have been as late as 443/2, alliances were concluded with Rhegium and Leontinoi.²⁶ In the request of the Sybarites Pericles saw a new and different opportunity which could lead much further.²⁷ His aims of Panhellenic leadership for Athens, disclosed for the first time in his plan of a Panhellenic congress some years earlier, could be easily imposed on a scheme in which Athens neither could, nor was invited to, found a purely Athenian colony. The new task gave Pericles the idea of sending out a colony which was to be Athenian in its leadership and Panhellenic in its composition, and which might develop into a political and cultural centre establishing and extending Athenian influence far more efficiently than could be hoped for by any treaty of alliance.

Preparations for the final expedition must have gone on throughout the years 445 and 444. It was then that the propaganda for a common Greek policy under the leadership of Athens reached its peak. The Athenian efforts must even have been intensified by the report that the colony at Sybaris had broken up. The date of this event, it is true, is not certain, since our sources are divided on whether it happened before the expedition of 444/3 or after. The coins naturally do not provide exact dates. While all other evidence seems to show that the expedition

centuries a Sybarite colony (and became Ionian only in the fifth century) is equally bold and questionable.

²⁵ Tod, *Greek Hist. Inscr.*, no. 31; he ascribed it to 454/3, the very year of the Egyptian disaster. A. E. Raubitschek, *T. A. P. A.*, LXXV (1944), pp. 10 ff., puts the date back to 458/7.

²⁶ Cf. Gomme, *op. cit.*, I, p. 198. B. D. Meritt, *C. Q.*, LX (1946), pp. 85 ff.: 448 B. C. or later. Meritt makes it likely that these treaties were concluded ἐς ἀλδίων, a form uncommon in spite of Thucydides, IV, 63, 1. If Meritt's assumption is right, it would testify to the intensity of Pericles' western policy.

²⁷ It seems no longer necessary to refute the view that those alliances were the work of Pericles' radical opponents, and that Thurii was his own, much more moderate and statesmanlike, achievement (H. Droysen, *Athen und der Westen vor d. sizil. Expedition* [1882], pp. 17 ff.).

of 444/3 immediately led to the foundation of Thurii, and not to a re-founding of Sybaris, the well-informed source of Strabo, VI, 263 (probably Antiochus of Syracuse) maintains that the change of name and place from Sybaris to Thurii occurred later.²⁸ If this were true the tradition about Thurii, including the *Θουριομάντεις* (see below), would appear to have completely superseded the true story of what actually happened in 444/3. There was always a certain danger of confusing the two names and the two events.²⁹ Probably only two facts stood out in later times: that the main act of colonisation took place in 444/3, and that the new colony was later famous under the name of Thurii. It seems difficult to imagine that the whole apparatus of the final expedition, which under the guidance of Lampon and an oracle of the Delphic god went in search of a new and healthier site than that of Sybaris, meant no more than a refounding, in fact only a reinforcement, of Sybaris.³⁰ Common sense seems in favour of the assumption that the third Sybaris was founded in 446/5, that some time afterwards the Sybarites were expelled, and that in 444/3 Thurii came into being.³¹ Full proof for this theory cannot be found, and anyway it does not make any decisive difference. We saw that the expedition of 446/5, though of a mixed character, was—by sheer force of circumstances—not yet truly Panhellenic. Thurii certainly was, although some of the Greek countries did not take part. The phylae of Thurii, rightly understood, make the nature of this Panhellenism abundantly clear.

We owe our knowledge of the ten Thurian tribes to Diodorus (XII, 11, 3); but his own interpretation has no historical value, although it has been more or less accepted by many modern historians.³² Diodorus divides the ten phylae into three groups, one "Peloponnesian" comprising the *Arkas*, *Achaiis*, and *Eleia*,

²⁸ The same is clearly stated in Plutarch, *Vita decem Orat.*, 835c.

²⁹ Cf., e.g., Aristotle, *Pol.*, 1303 a 31. Scylax, *Periplus*, 12.

³⁰ Cf. Busolt, p. 526. The opposite view is held, e.g., by Ciaceri, p. 349.

³¹ This is also accepted by Wade-Gery, p. 217, n. 49.

³² Cf. e.g., Busolt, p. 533; Ciaceri, p. 350. A partial attempt at a better understanding was made as early as in Pappritz's dissertation (*op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff.). Wade-Gery does not analyse this fundamental evidence, and simply accepts it as a proof of a full and unrestricted, that is to say un-Periclean, Panhellenism.

another "Dorian outside the Peloponnesus" formed by the *Boiotia*, *Amphiktyonis*, and *Doris*, and a third "from other tribes" covering the *Ias*, *Athenais*, *Euboiis*, and *Nesiotis*. Diodorus believes among other things that the phyle *Doris* derived from the tiny and poor district of that name in Central Greece, although the analogy of another phyle, the *Ias*, makes the true explanation obvious. The predominance of the Dorian element in Diodorus' description is, of course, misleading and completely wrong. Actually, the distribution among the main tribes of the Greek people was very fair: Dorians (with the Boeotians) and Ionians were substantially equal to each other, and in addition there were two phylae of Achaeian stock. Ten names could not cover every aspect, but the choice was representative and truly Panhellenic—as even Pericles had to make it, if he did not want to spoil his own scheme from the beginning.

There is, however, something more in this. The *Athenais* was more than merely "from other tribes," and more than just one of the Ionian phylae. It has, I believe, never been noticed that only one of the ten names derives from a city, and that is the *Athenais*. The other nine are collective names.³³ Perhaps only the Athenian contingent was large enough to form a phyle by itself; but this argument would only point to the same result: the outstanding position of the Athenians. Moreover, there were, apart from the *Athenais*, three phylae representing the Athenian empire, each of them covering a certain region containing a number of different cities: *Euboiis*, *Nesiotis*, *Ias*—the last standing for the remaining States of Ionian origin.³⁴ The *Boiotia*, *Arkaiis*, *Achaiis*, and *Eleia* represented men from various cities of these independent countries of Achaeian and Dorian stock. The *Amphiktyonis*, apart from its Panhellenic significance, contained

³³ The only exception is the *Eleia*. For Elis had been united by synoecism since the 'seventies. And yet, it was at the same time a sort of one-State Olympic Amphictyony, and as such of particular importance in a Panhellenic scheme. It was, I believe, as the guardians of Olympia that the Eleians received a phyle of their own in Thurii, very much as another phyle, the *Amphiktyonis*, centred on Delphi.

³⁴ At first sight, one might think of identifying two of the tribes, *Nesiotis* and *Ias*, with two of the new "provinces" of the Athenian empire. But the *Euboiis* is incompatible with such an explanation, and the analogy with the *Doris* makes it clear that the *Ias* was not confined to the district of the Ἰωνικὸς πόρος. Cf. also, e. g., Thucydides, IV, 61, 2.

men of the members of the Delphic Amphictyony in Central and Northern Greece, so far as they were not included in one of the other phylae. The *Doris* contained persons from the rest of the Dorian cities. Places like Corinth and even Sparta were included in this last phyle, though (to say it once again) not as States, but as individual colonists coming from these States; the exiled Spartan Cleandridas is one example.

From this distribution among the phylae there emerges the idea of a Panhellenic leadership of Athens, guaranteed not so much by numbers but by the fact that the men from Athens, together with their allies, formed rather a united and homogeneous body,³⁵ while the other phylae represented a mixed crowd which partly was even pro-Athenian or at least anti-Spartan.³⁶ Thus we can trace a considered and intelligent policy in the political building-up of the new colony, even though this policy failed in the end. In the upheaval of 434/3 the Athenians claimed to be the true *οἰκιστῆρες* because they had sent most of the colonists, that is to say, as a single city, while their opponents relied on the number of cities from which they came (Diodorus, XII, 35, 1 f.). The original pattern can still be discerned. Even as late as 414, after Athenian influence had declined decisively, there was still a powerful pro-Athenian party.³⁷ Apart from the Sicilian disaster it was through the great personality of the Spartan Cleandridas, who had soon become the military leader of Thurii, that the anti-Athenian party was eventually victorious.

The foundation of Thurii was, after all, the outcome of a constant policy of "Athenian" Panhellenism. I am unable to trace anywhere in our evidence of the two expeditions that aristocratic and agonistic Panhellenism which Wade-Gery discovered in the family traditions of Pericles' opponent Thucydides. "To Pericles, Panhellenism was a thing which could be made to serve

³⁵ This is true although the allied States were treated officially as independent, just as they had been treated when Pericles sent out his envoys with the invitation for the Panhellenic congress (cf. Gomme, pp. 366 f.).

³⁶ The Achaeans had joined Athens several years earlier (Thucydides, I, 111, 3), Elis had been democratic and anti-Spartan since her synoecism. Some of the Arcadian cities were always on bad terms with Sparta, while allies of Sparta such as the Boeotians would have been represented—as it seems, in fairly large numbers—by exiled democrats.

³⁷ Thucydides, VI, 104, 2; VII, 33, 5 f.; 35, 1; 57, 11.

Athens; to Thucydides, it meant equality of all Greek States, the renouncement of Athenian domination."³⁸ Even if this contrast were completely true to the facts, it cannot be maintained that the new colony conformed to the second rather than the first kind of Panhellenism. To found a colony with the greatest possible variety of colonists, to appoint leaders who were all Athenians and adherents of Pericles (cf. Plutarch, *Per.*, 6, 2, and below), to make the new State a democracy based on ten phylae like Athens and on a well-founded expectation of Athenian leadership—the "Periclean," that is to say, democratic and imperialistic, character of the policy which led to the foundation of Thurii could scarcely be made more obvious.

There is, however, one piece of evidence, if evidence it is, that seems to support Wade-Gery's theory. In the *Vita anonyma Thucydidis* two paragraphs (6-7) refer, as Wade-Gery has seen, to the son of Melesias and not to the historian, although the anonymous biographer did not realise this. There it is reported that Thucydides, before he was condemned and ostracised, paid a visit to Sybaris. This must have been in 445/4 or early in 444/3, since there is not the slightest reason to assume that Thucydides went out with the first expedition. It goes without saying that he did not join the second. We may expect he opposed Pericles' plan and general ideas; but this he could do more effectively at home. Moreover, as Wade-Gery points out himself, the story that Thucydides had to face a trial and was condemned (on what charge and to what, we are not told) just before he was ostracised, would imply an unheard-of course of events and sounds completely false. It becomes hardly more plausible by the fact that Xenocritus, one of the leaders of the final expedition, is mentioned as the prosecutor. There is probably some confusion with the trial which Thucydides apparently

³⁸ Wade-Gery, p. 219. He largely relies on the one point that "the co-operation of the Peloponnesus was invited." In this he revives a theory of Bury's (*Hist. of Greece*, p. 379) who connected the invitation to the Peloponnesians with the first expedition, but explained it in the same way as Wade-Gery does, thus distinguishing two phases of Periclean policy, of which only the second was deliberately Panhellenic. I have tried to show that the facts about the invitation make all such conclusions unfounded. Some objections to Wade-Gery's ingenious theory are also raised by Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 386; I share his doubts about the "factional leader" Thucydides being such a Panhellenic idealist.

had to face in his old age (Aristophanes, *Ach.*, 702 ff.). The whole story is incoherent and mistaken.³⁹ I believe it could be neglected even if it did not derive from such a scanty and utterly unreliable source as the concoction called *Vita Thucydidis*.⁴⁰ If, however, we were to trust this evidence, and Thucydides actually did pay a visit to Thurii—certainly with the intention of causing trouble and of interfering with Pericles' plans—he remained on the whole unsuccessful. The constitution of Thurii was not his work.

Wade-Gery (*loc. cit.*, pp. 205 f., 219) actually finds confirmation for his theory in a particular hypothesis of his own which is based on a statement of Plutarch's (*Per.*, 16, 3): "After the overthrow and ostracism of Thucydides, Pericles for no less than fifteen years acquired a position of authority and domination that was continuous and one by his yearly strategies." Wade-Gery believes that the fifteen years of Pericles' "Principate" of which Plutarch speaks make sense only if we assume that

³⁹ I doubt whether Schol. *Vesp.* 947 really supports it. It is true that there we read: οὕτω κατεδικάσθη, εἶτα ἐξωστρακίσθη. But that οὕτω refers to another peculiar tale of Thucydides being unable to speak for himself in court. Is it likely that the oligarchs had such a dull and inefficient leader? This, too, seems rather an allusion to the trial of the old man whom Aristophanes describes as senile and doddering, a poor relict of a glorious past.

⁴⁰ Cf. also Gomme, p. 386. My argument would lose some of its stringency if J. S. Morrison's sharp distinction between a Cleisthenic and a Periclean (= Protagorean) theory of democracy were right, the former being "an indiscriminate selection of the equal people ruling in turn," the latter a leadership of those "most suited for leadership by talent and position" (*C. Q.*, XXXV [1941], pp. 11 ff.). No doubt, the *strategia* was the outstanding new element in the post-Cleisthenian State; but it was no innovation of the 'fifties. It had similar importance in the times of Themistocles, Aristides, and Cimon. The Cleisthenic archonship, on the other hand, though it did not allow re-election, gave the leading politicians the necessary position and power. It led, we may say, to a leadership of rivalling heads of clans rather than to individual leadership, but there was no fundamental and theoretical difference. I also disagree with Morrison's interpretation of Herodotus' constitutional debate (III, 80 ff.). Would Herodotus really, in speaking in favor of monarchy, be thinking of the ascendancy of Pericles? He certainly could not wish to support the comic caricature that Pericles' position made democracy a fake, and its leader a tyrant. It was different more than a generation later when Thucydides spoke of the πρώτου ἀνδρός ἀρχή.

there was a break in his yearly strategies before that period. Thucydides was ostracised in spring 443; according to Wade-Gery, he had then "almost equal authority with Pericles," and in 444/3, the very year of the expedition, Pericles very probably was not a strategos at all. This theory is in the last resort based on two considerations. One is that Pericles' "Principate" rested on his annual re-election as strategos ἐξ ἀπάντων. In an earlier paper⁴¹ I have tried to show that at least in 440/39 and 430/29, though Pericles was among the strategoi, it was Phormion who was elected ἐξ ἀπάντων. Pericles' "special position among the strategoi" therefore rested on his general authority rather than any legal form, and cannot be described in strict and legal terms.⁴² This is even more true with regard to the second consideration—the significance of Plutarch's statement. I do not think that Thucydides, even for a short time only, was ever in a position similar to that of Pericles. Passages such as Aristotle, *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 28, 2 and 4, or Plutarch, *Per.*, 6, 2 and 11, 1, do not show that he was *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*,⁴³ but only that he headed the oligarchic opposition. A generation earlier, when Themistocles was ostracised, the oligarchs had been powerful indeed and well prepared.⁴⁴ Thucydides put up a good fight against Pericles, but it was a rearguard action. This last stand of a legal opposition—the next step was the revolution of 411—acquired real importance only by the position which Pericles gained from the oligarchic defeat. The mere fact that Thucydides was ostracised and that until then Pericles had to fight against an important opponent is explanation enough for thinking that his full rule began only after that event. Pericles had probably been strategos in most years since 461, but even if he

⁴¹ *A. J. P.*, LXVI (1945), pp. 130 f.

⁴² Since Wade-Gery speaks of Pericles' Principate—and there is, in fact, no fixed term describing his position more closely, although his State was a democracy and Augustus' was not—it seems right to remember Augustus' *auctoritate praestiti omnibus* (*Res gestae*, 34), especially in view of Cicero, *De Rep.*, I, 26: *Pericles ille, et auctoritate et eloquentia et consilio princeps civitatis suae*.

⁴³ As Wade-Gery assumes; even he, however, does not believe that Thucydides was strategos, and this office, after all, was at that period the only basis for a *prostasia*.

⁴⁴ This is strikingly illustrated by the prefabricated ostraca, published by O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII (1938), pp. 228 ff.

was in office for a continuous period of many years it would not have been ἀρχὴ καὶ δυναστεία. Until 443 his position, though of growing authority, remained to some extent precarious, and only during the succeeding years was his "office" essentially unopposed and untroubled, διηγεγκῆς καὶ μίᾳ indeed. Only after 443 was he the ruler of the State, and that is what Plutarch wants to stress more than anything else. Besides, his phrase is a piece of rhetorical writing rather than a factual statement. There is, so far as I can see, no real reason for assuming that Thucydides was in full authority in 444/3, and our investigation into the evidence for Sybaris and Thurii has, I hope, excluded the possibility of confirming Thucydides' powerful position by the kind of Panhellenism displayed in the expedition, or *vice versa*.

The foundation of Thurii was the outcome of the same kind of political thought and political aims, in other words, of the same Athenian imperialism as that which had led to the proposal of a Panhellenic congress a few years previously (Plutarch, *Per.*, 17). It had implied political imperialism upheld by religious leadership, "an Amphictyony greater than Delphi's,"⁴⁵ based at the same time on the freedom of the seas safeguarded by the Athenian fleet. The aims now were both more modest and more realistic. But the spirit was the same. Pericles founded a colony on a Panhellenic basis, a colony led by an Athenian οἰκιστής,⁴⁶ and intended as a stronghold of Athenian influence in the West.

If, then, the Thurian enterprise was Periclean in conception and execution, it can tell us much about the politician Pericles during the 'forties. Plutarch in one of his treatises⁴⁷ stresses the point that Pericles generally used to employ a great variety of men. Hardly in any of his actions is this quite so manifest as in the foundation of Thurii. Not only were the colonists taken from a large number of Greek States many of which were anything but friendly to one another—the Athenians also who were leading in the enterprise were representatives of very

⁴⁵ Wade-Gery, p. 217.

⁴⁶ See below. Although Lampon to some extent represented Delphic influence on Athens, practically the Delphic god had been robbed of his traditional position of οἰκιστής. He regained it later (Diodorus, XII, 35, 3).

⁴⁷ *Praec. Ger. Reip.*, 812d.

different, in fact of completely opposite, ways and philosophies of life.

The comic poets used, and probably coined, the word *Θουριομάντεις* (Aristophanes, *Nub.*, 332 and schol.), and the explanation of some scholiasts found its way into late lexicæ.⁴⁸ The word was to indicate the soothsayers connected with the foundation of Thurii, and it reveals the prominent part they played in the affair. Various names are mentioned, but the chief man was Lampon, the well-known partisan of Pericles.⁴⁹ He sometimes appears even as the only *οἰκιστής* of Thurii.⁵⁰ Lampon was known as an *ἐξηγητής*,⁵¹ but not *ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν*; he was not even an initiate of Eleusis (Aristotle, *Rhet.*, 1419 a 2). He was what the Athenians called *Πυθόχρηστος*, that is to say, he got his office and dignity from Delphi. At the same time, however, he was an active politician. There is a story according to which he foresaw the outcome of the conflict between Pericles and Thucydides (Plutarch, *Per.*, 6, 2)—a clear proof that even forty years before Socrates' trial religious conservatism went hand in hand with democratic policy.⁵² It is evident that the activities of prophets such as Lampon were essential for the whole enterprise.⁵³ This is not surprising, for our sources give us many

⁴⁸ See Photius and Hesychius *s. v.* Cf. the reconstruction of Photius' text by Wade-Gery, p. 225.

⁴⁹ In the Lexica various kinds of men, connected with Thurii in one way or another, are joined under the same heading of *Θουριομάντεις*. Neither the poet and rhetor Dionysius Chalceus (*Prosop. Att.*, no. 4084), nor the banished Spartan Cleandridas, nor Lysias who was then still a boy, ever were *μάντεις*, and the two last mentioned were not among the founders. Ciaceri's attempt (p. 347) to regard Cleandridas as the military leader of the expedition of 444/3 does not carry conviction. If he had really gone to Athens after being banished from Sparta, his guilt with regard to the charge of being bribed by Pericles in 446 would have been beyond doubt, and our tradition would have been much more definite about it. The *argumentum ex silentio* seems clearly to indicate that he did not go to Thurii by way of Athens.

⁵⁰ Plutarch, *loc. cit.* (see note 47).

⁵¹ Eupolis, frag. 297; cf. schol. Aristophanes, *Av.* 521. Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, II, p. 1106.

⁵² Cf. K. von Fritz, *T. A. P. A.*, LXXI (1940), pp. 93, 124.

⁵³ Cf. A. W. Parke, *Hist. of the Delphic Oracle*, p. 201. Lampon was strongly attacked by Cratinus in his *Drapetides* (frags. 57-8, 62), probably as a supporter of Pericles. Perhaps Pericles himself was attacked in that play (frag. 56; cf. F. Leo, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIII [1878],

examples of the genuine and fervent belief of the Greeks, the Athenians as well as others, in oracles, prophecies, and mantic evidence. Nearly thirty years later another much larger expedition to the West was preceded by a veritable storm of soothsaying and prophesying. Every leading politician, whether he himself believed in these things or not, had to make use of them, and so had Pericles.

It was no doubt of considerable importance to have the "orthodox" on one's side, but there was more in it in the case of Lampon. He was responsible for the share which Delphi had in the act of colonisation, and it is not surprising that Apollo had some say in an enterprise which claimed to be Panhellenic—quite apart from the general and ancient rôle of the Delphic god as the protector of all colonising people. Lampon, however, was independent and patriotic enough to prevent Apollo from becoming the official *οἰκιστῆς*. Thurii was to be founded by Athenian men, not by a non-Athenian god. It was this principle which was to be reversed later when Thurii revolted against Athenian supremacy. Lampon, apart from being a genuine adherent to Pericles' policy, was probably delighted to bring his city as well as his own person into the limelight of a great enterprise blessed by the gods. His general support of Pericles must have been based on similar considerations. Pericles' temples and statues of the gods, although they might not satisfy the more old-fashioned among the pious, were a tribute to the greatness of the gods of Athens, and a man like Lampon was bound to appreciate that. There was a clear line of official and patriotic religiosity in Pericles' policy, but it was only one side of his policy, and any conclusions as to Pericles' own religious attitude would be off the point and misleading.

Fortunately the same enterprise provides ample evidence also for this. For if the plan was made popular largely by favourable portents and oracles and by Lampon's leadership, an entirely different spirit lived in some of those men who accompanied the expedition and were given important commissions. The famous architect Hippodamus of Miletus, for example, who had previously re-planned the Piraeus, now designed the plan of the

pp. 408 f.). But everything is uncertain, and to connect the title *The Runaway Women* either with Athenian colonists or the expelled Sybarites is equally fantastic and arbitrary.

new city, which was based on four parallel streets crossed at right angles by three others (Diodorus, XII, 10, 7). The idea of planning the lay-out of a town beforehand, and planning it like this, was comparatively new. Hippodamus was probably not its inventor, but certainly the man who developed the scheme to a very high perfection and practical adaptability.⁵⁴ It was an attempt to master the influences of the ground, of tradition, and of mere chance, by a purely rational pattern. It was at the same time, despite the more aristocratic features of Hippodamus' own theory of an ideal State (Aristotle, *Pol.*, 1267 b 22 ff.), an expression of democracy; for it aimed at giving all private houses equal standards and situation.⁵⁵

The constitution of Thurii, though of course democratic, seems to have been different from the Athenian model. One of its chief characteristics was the rule that nobody was allowed to become strategos for a second time within a period of five years (Aristotle, *Pol.*, 1307 b 7). This, as far as I know, is a unique regulation within the normal constitutional life of Greek States.⁵⁶ It looks like a definite and deliberate departure from that order on which Pericles' position was based. If this is so—and I do not doubt it—the reasons must be found in the particular situation of Thurii both in domestic and foreign affairs.⁵⁷ Internal political life was dominated by the fact that the population was composed of the most heterogeneous elements. There was always the danger that one of the ethnical groups might fall under the leadership of an ambitious general and become a political faction which could serve its leader as a platform for becoming a tyrant. Italy and Sicily were an excellent soil for tyrannies and factious oligarchies, and in Thurii the danger of upheaval was probably more threatening than anywhere else. In later years—mainly in the 'twenties, I believe—the situation

⁵⁴ Cf. A. v. Gerkan, *Griech. Städteanlagen*, pp. 45 f.

⁵⁵ Cf. F. Tritsch, *Klio*, XXII (1929), p. 71. Ciaceri, pp. 350 ff.

⁵⁶ It was much more radical than, e.g., the law of Tarentum by which it was forbidden to hold the highest office for two years continuously (Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 79).

⁵⁷ It seems certain that there was no other (civil) office in Thurii which could be held for more than one year. No Athenian oligarch, at any rate, would have dreamt of supporting a democracy as radical as that law implies.

deteriorated decisively because of the influx of many exiles from the allied cities (Ps. Andocides, IV, 12) and other enemies of Athens (Thucydides, VIII, 35; Pausanias, VI, 7, 4). It is, however, likely that the intended remedy did actually hasten the outbreak of the disease. Such a radical measure, which would prevent anybody not only from becoming a tyrant but also from being a successful and efficient political leader, was impracticable in an age in which individual leadership had become an outstanding sign of the times, and in a State which from its very beginnings was threatened by hostile neighbours both Greek and barbarian. Thus it is not surprising that, as Aristotle tells us (*loc. cit.*), a military rising first destroyed that particular law and later the whole democratic constitution.⁵⁸

Did Pericles not realise the danger of such a form of democracy? His chief thought must have been to give Thurii a constitution which could not interfere with the supremacy of Athens. Naturally the new colony had to be a democracy. But to give it a chance of putting a military and political leader into a position similar to that of Pericles himself might create a spirit of independence too strong not to endanger its relations with Athens. There was nobody at hand to whom Pericles could entrust a leading position in Thurii, and he probably did not even wish to find such a man. He himself was to remain, whether at home or abroad, the only man who as a strategos was the ruler of the State.

We do not know enough of the constitution of Thurii to judge its details. There was perhaps some analogy between Thurii and Amphipolis which was founded six years later. Both were colonies with a strongly mixed population,⁵⁹ both almost immediately after their foundation grew into large cities, both were creations of the same imperialistic policy. Unfortunately we know about the constitution of Amphipolis even less than about

⁵⁸ The date of the revolt is disputed. But whether it was in 434/3 (Ed. Meyer) or in 413 (Menzel and others), the democratic constitution, in which alone the law about the strategos could have originated, dated back to 443. It is more doubtful whether the measures by which the privileges of a landed oligarchy were destroyed and which are mentioned by Aristotle a few lines earlier (1307 a 27 ff.) have anything to do with the original democracy. They belong probably to a later period than the law on the strategos (cf. also Plato, *Laws*, 636 B).

⁵⁹ For Amphipolis cf. Thucydides, IV, 106, 1; Diodorus, XII, 32, 3.

that of Thurii. In an inscription of the fourth century B. C. (*Syll.*³, 194) *προστάται* are mentioned as responsible for setting up a *stèle*; but we do not know whether they were permanent officials or only a changing committee. Similarly Aristotle speaks of *σύμβουλοι* in Thurii, charged, so it seems, with the duty of guarding the laws, and therefore of course a permanent office. Although we ought not to think in this context of Cleandridas who had been a *σύμβουλος* to king Pleistoanax in the campaign of 446 (Plutarch, *Per.*, 22, 2), and may exclude any Spartan influence, the name of the office and its function of *νόμους φυλάττειν* have a clearly anti-democratic flavour. All this is not very helpful, though we may assume that the similar fate of Thurii and Amphipolis, both cities turning away early from Athens, was at least partially reflected in similar constitutional developments.

There is, however, one more fact which is of outstanding importance. We are told that Protagoras was engaged in "writing the laws of Thurii" (Diogenes Laertius, IX, 50). This piece of evidence goes back to Heracleides Ponticus, and there is no reason why we should doubt it; it was so well-known a fact that it provided the basis for dating Protagoras' *akmé* to the year 444/3.⁶⁰ It is very likely that he was responsible for the constitution of Thurii.⁶¹ But there our knowledge, and even our guessing, ends. If the law about the *strategia* was due to Protagoras, this fact would disprove any attempt to attribute to him an elaborate theory of political leadership.⁶² But we can be sure,

⁶⁰ See above p. 150. It is possible that the attacks against Pericles' friends were "one of the reasons for Protagoras' mission" (Morrison, *loc. cit.*, p. 6, note).

⁶¹ Cf. A. Menzel, *Protagoras als Gesetzgeber von Thurii* (*Berichte Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, LXII [1910]), pp. 191 ff. Menzel tries to prove too much from our scanty evidence, but even though his arguments are frequently weak, I believe that the facts in general agree with his conclusions. Cf. also Ciaceri, pp. 353 ff. A different picture of Protagoras' political philosophy is drawn by D. Loenen, *Protagoras and the Greek Community* (Amsterdam, 1940). But he does not refer either to Thurii or to Pericles. This is not the place to discuss Protagoras' part in the general development of Political Theory.

⁶² This is one of several reasons which seem to disprove the theory of Morrison's already mentioned article, an ingenious *tour de force* in favour of Protagoras as the man who developed a theory of political leadership which Pericles put into practice.

from our knowledge of the friendly and close relations between Pericles and Protagoras, that the latter's work of legislation was not at variance with Pericles' Thurian policy.

Probably the great Sophist was even more concerned with the νόμοι than with the πολιτεία of Thurii. As regards Civil Law, we are told by Diodorus (XII, 12 ff.) that Thurii used the laws of Charondas; other sources mention Zaleucus.⁶³ We cannot prove that Protagoras used one of these famous bodies of laws, or even both, but it is quite possible. He would have built his own legislation on the foundations of earlier, and in particular Italic, traditions. Ephorus speaks of the more exact and elaborate character of the Thurian laws as compared with those of Zaleucus.⁶⁴ This, of course, is what we should expect. Protagoras adapted and accommodated earlier laws to the needs of a fifth century democracy and its advanced economy. I cannot say whether the attempt to find laws of Protagoras in some fragments of Theophrastus is justified.⁶⁵ They are about some special questions of the right of sale, and anyway display a fairly "modern" spirit of economic legislation. "It would be interesting to have the Criminal Law of Thurii";⁶⁶ but nothing is known about it.

Hippodamus and Protagoras are outstanding exponents of the modern, essentially rationalist, spirit. They as well as the orthodox "founders" Lampon and Xenocritus probably left Thurii after the final settlement, and this must have weakened the position of the Athenians there. Others, however, remained—the two brothers Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, for example, sophists of a minor kind, who went out with the expedition and lived in Thurii for many years (Plato, *Euthyd.*, 217 B-C). A much more prominent colonist was Herodotus. With his enthusiasm for Pericles and Periclean Athens, he was the right man to influence others, and this may have been one of the reasons why he went. We do not know for certain whether he

⁶³ Athenaeus, XI, 508. Suidas, s. v. Ζάλευκος. Cf. Ephorus, *F. Gr. H.*, 70, F 139.

⁶⁴ Cf. in general F. E. Adcock, *Cambr. Hist. Journ.*, II (1927), pp. 104 f. M. Mühl, *Klio*, XXII (1929), pp. 114, 459 ff.

⁶⁵ Menzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 ff. Mühl, *loc. cit.*, pp. 116 f., and *Klio*, Beiheft XXIX (1933), p. 64.

⁶⁶ J. B. Bury, *C. A. H.*, V, p. 384, n. 2.

left with the main expedition or later, though the former is more likely. He had no official duties, but he became a citizen of Thurii⁶⁷ and lived there at least for some years. It is possible, though not certain, that he left when the anti-Athenian tendencies grew too strong.⁶⁸ He stood in a sense between the *Θουριόμαχτοις* and the Sophists, another striking witness for the wide scope and clear forethought that were displayed in the selection of the leading colonists. The whole enterprise is, in fact, an outstanding example of the union of political and cultural forces in Pericles' mind.

Here ends the story of the foundation of Thurii. The later history of the city, its decline and fall, though not bare of interesting moments, is of little general significance. But in its foundation many features are displayed, typical of Periclean policy. It was he who pursued a determined, if sometimes unrealistic, policy of powerful expansion and imperialism, he who made use of religious beliefs and superstitions for his political aims, he who was deeply interested in the modern teaching and in a philosophical approach to the problems of life and nature, he who ruled Athens and aimed at an extension of her power, and at the same time could not think of politics without realising and indeed fostering its cultural implications and possibilities. The foundation of Thurii reflects and confirms the greatness of his mind and the failure of his policy.

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⁶⁷ F. Jacoby, *R.-E.*, Suppl. II, cols. 205 ff., 224 ff., has put it beyond doubt that the evidence for this fact derives only from the first words of Herodotus' work: 'Ἡροδότου Θουρίου ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἡδε. But there could be no clearer proof for the fact itself. Cf. also J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus*, pp. 63 f.

⁶⁸ Jacoby, *loc. cit.*, cols. 242 ff., contests this view and regards it as probable that he died in Thurii; cf. also P. E. Legrand, *Introduction* (*Coll. Budé*) (1932). Powell's opposite opinion (pp. 72 ff.) is part of his general attempt to reconstruct the development of Herodotus' life and work. I am very much inclined to follow him in this point. I see that Jacoby is now prepared ("though not very confidently") to admit that Herodotus returned to Athens (*J.H.S.*, LXIV [1944], p. 45, n. 33).

ENVY AND PITY IN GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

In an earlier paper I referred in passing to the three types of emotion which Aristotle says are obstructive of pity: *phthonos*, *nemesis*, and *epichairekakia*.¹ The first of these is the general term and may be used to designate either of the other two. The fundamental emotion is that of begrudging someone something, whether the prize is one which we ourselves do not have but should like to have (*phthonos*), or one the unmerited possession of which raises our indignation (*nemesis*), or one which we are maliciously or, it may be, justly, pleased to see another person lose or fail to acquire (*epichairekakia*). In the present paper I mean to elicit and set forth Greek philosophic theory concerning these varieties of envy and their relation to pity. My scheme will be partly chronological and partly topical.

Space will not permit a full treatment of the numerous non-philosophical references to envy,² such as Pindar's saying that envy is better than pity, meaning that it is better to be prosperous and enviable than unfortunate and pitiable; and the remarks which Herodotus assigns to various speakers, to the effect that man is naturally envious (III, 80), or that it is characteristic of the Greeks to envy success and hate superiority (VII, 236); and Thucydides' designation of envy as the emotion whereby in the period preceding the Peloponnesian war the extreme parties were impelled to draw the moderates into their mutual destruction (III, 82, 8), and again as the blighting force without which people would not have preferred vengeance to religion and greed to restraint (III, 84, 2).

A few passages of Euripides demand closer scrutiny. In the *Phoenissae* (541-5) Jocasta personifies and praises *ισότης* as that which binds friends to friends, cities to cities, and allies to allies, and, drawing an analogy from nature, in which day and night are found to enjoy parity with each other, she adds: *κουνδέτερον αὐτῶν φόβον ἔχει νικώμενον*. In the same play (476-80) Polynices pleads for the principle of parity in sharing the government of

¹ Stevens, "Some Attic Commonplaces of Pity," *A. J. P.*, LXV (1944), pp. 1-25, especially pp. 10 ff.; Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1386 b 9 ff.

² A partial list of such passages appears at R. Hirzel, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes*, pp. 299-308.

Thebes with his brother as a means of eschewing enmity and envy. In the *Supplices* (238-45) Theseus says that there are three classes of citizens, the rich who are useless and greedy, the poor who are envious and dangerous inasmuch as they may be swayed by depraved leaders, and the middle class which is to be credited with whatever safety and order a state may have. In the *Orestes* (917-30) the fickle citizenry to whom political assemblies are an everyday affair is contrasted with the sober farmer who seldom comes to the city at all. I find in these passages the suggestion of a political theory to the effect that a society which managed to dispense with the greedy rich and the envious poor and contrived to be largely agrarian in character would presumably be free from the disturbances caused by the dangerous emotion, envy. A fragment of Agathon (24) seems to glance cynically at such a theory with the observation that there would be no envy if we were all born equal.

Among the fragments of Democritus which are concerned with problems of government and good citizenship is one in which envy is said to be the source of dissension in a city,³ and another which I translate as follows (frag. 255): "Whenever the upper classes can bring themselves to make loans to poor people and to help them and show them kindness, in such action there are already operative pity, the breaking-down of class barriers, fraternization, coöperation, civil concord (τοὺς πολίτας ὁμονόους εἶναι), and other good things, so many none could count them." Wilhelm Nestle⁴ considered this passage to be but one of the evidences of an ὁμόνοια-literature much more extensive than the fragments we have would indicate. The evidence for such a literature is slender. There is the περὶ ὁμονοίας of the sophist Antiphon in which anarchy is declared to be the greatest evil,⁵ there is a bare mention of ὁμόνοια in a fragment from Thrasy-machus' *Republic*, there is the possibility that Gorgias uses the

³ Frag. 245 (Diels⁴). Cf. Shakespeare, *I Henry VI*, iv, 1, 193 f.: "... when envy breeds unkind division: There comes the ruin, there begins confusion." Envy and discord are paired in a painting by Poussin (described in Larousse, s. v. "envie"). For the relationships of a quasi-mythological Envy see Hyginus, *Fab., praef.*, p. 97 Sch., and *R.-E.*, s. v. "Eris."

⁴ *Der Friedensgedanke in der Antiken Welt* (Philol., Suppl., XXXI [1938]), pp. 15 f.

⁵ Frag. 61, Diels⁴.

word in orations urging Panhellenism,⁶ but there is no assurance that in these instances and others *ὁμόνοια* was the key-word of the sophistic approach to the therapeusis of Greek civic factionalism. Probably Antiphon's *περὶ ὁμονομίας* did treat of envy in an account of the customs of some fabulous people (frags. 45, 46, 47), just as Herodotus remarked on the absence of envy among the Agathyrsi (IV, 104). The idea that envy is a deterrent to civic harmony appears again in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (III, 5, 16) in a speech ascribed to the young Pericles, who lists envy with the passions which make him despair of Athenians ever attaining to *ὁμόνοια*. Another section of the *Memorabilia* (II, 6, 20 ff.) works around to Democritus' notion of conciliation, though on a more exclusive scale. Socrates sees opposing tendencies at work, the one towards affection and the other towards hostility. Men need one another, and have compassion on one another, but at the same time they envy and consequently hate one another.⁷ Yet the barrier of envy can be overcome if men will place their property at the disposal of their friends and regard their friends' property as their own.

That Xenophon—or Socrates—should regard envy in its narrow meaning as the grudging emotion that mars the relations of friends and associates is in keeping with the definition of envy given at *Memorabilia*, III, 9, 8. This kind of envy, unlike that regarded as the root of class strife, is similar to the envy which Aristotle limits to relations between men who are near to one another in time, locality, age, and reputation, or who are rivals (*Rhet.* 1388 a 5-7). This milder envy is distinguished from rivalry or emulation by the latter's lack of a grudging quality. The emulous man does not begrudge another man his success, but is grieved by his own lack of such success and tries to qualify himself for a like success. His emotion is good, whereas envy is bad (*Rhet.* 1388 a 35). Plato had been less precise in distinguishing the emotions. He attributes the disturbance in Greece after the Persian wars to the envy that grew out of the rivalry of states (*Menex.* 242 A), and in the *Laws* (679 B) he says that insolence, injustice, rivalry, and envy are not engendered in a state free from wealth and poverty. Yet elsewhere in the *Laws* (730 E-731 A) he contrasts the man who vies with

⁶ Philostratus, *V. S.*, I, 9, 5.

⁷ *Mem.*, II, 6, 21. For envy and hatred see *infra*, note 40.

others in excellence, in a generous spirit free from envy, with the envious man who tries to make his own superior position secure by slandering his rivals.⁸

Plato does not make a point of the absence of envy in his ideal state, but he does designate it a characteristic emotion of the tyrannical nature (*Rep.* 579 C, 580 A, 586 C) and one for which the philosophic soul will not have leisure (500 C). But Aristotle discusses the problem of the elimination of envy from a state in terms which strongly suggest that he was conscious of a literature on the subject, perhaps a sophistic treatise such as might be the source of Euripides' random observations on the subject. Aristotle deprecates the state composed of slaves and masters instead of free men, with the one class envious, the other scornful (*Pol.* 1295 b 21-3), and he looks to a strong middle class as a means of preserving balance in a state and thwarting the factionalism that arises from the envy of a populace or the insolence of a ruling class (*Pol.* 1304 a 33-b 5). Again, Aristotle says (*Pol.* 1318 b 10-35), with reference to his four types of democracy, that the agricultural democracy is the best because farmers are too busy to meet in assembly except when it is necessary, and are too engrossed in their work to have time to covet other people's property.⁹ In this best form of government, says Aristotle, the best men will govern with the consent of the governed and without the latter's being envious of the upper class. W. Nestle¹⁰

⁸ For envy and emulation cf. Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* 839-40: *quoniam aemulari non licet, nunc invides*; and Phaedrus' protest that his imitation of Aesop is not *invidia* but *aemulatio* (II, 9, 7). La Bruyère seems to agree with Aristotle in making the distinction between jealousy and emulation that between vice and virtue (*De l'homme*, 85). For envy and slander cf. Plutarch's statement that Themistocles aroused envy of Aristides by slander (Plutarch, *Arist.*, 7, 1) and Herodotus' ascription to envy and malice of Demaretus' slander of Cleomenes (VI, 61, 1). A fragment of Theophrastus reads as follows (frag. 153): *ἐκ διαβολῆς καὶ φθόνου ψεύδος ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἰσχύσαν ἀπεμαράνθη*. Cf. also Isocrates, XII, 21, and Plutarch, *Mor.*, 167 E. In a painting by Apelles Slander was flanked by Ignorance and Suspicion and guided by Envy: Lucian, *Cal.*, 5; Roscher, *Lex.*, s. v. "Phthonos." Plutarch probably compared envy with slander in his lost essay *De Calumniā* (frag. 23 Didot).

⁹ At *Ath. Pol.*, 16, 3, Aristotle supposes that the agrarian policy of Pisistratus was motivated by just the objectives mentioned here as desirable. See Sandys *ad loc.* and cf. Heitland, *Agricola*, pp. 89 f.

¹⁰ "Die Horen des Prodikos," *Hermes*, LXXI (1936), p. 156.

traces these ideas to Prodicus' Ὀραὶ. I should not wish to be so specific, but I agree that some treatment of envy and its operation in the state appeared in one or more sophistic treatises, perhaps in Thrasy Machus' *Republic*. The *Republic* of Zeno had for its special deity Eros the bringer of ὁμόνοια. In this world-state wealth, currency, temples, courts of law, and gymnasia were to be absent. Community of women would prevail. It is obvious that the envy that a lower class feels with respect to a higher would not exist in such a state. Zeno's *Republic* was written "on the tail of the dog," an expression which is interpreted as meaning that Zeno had only progressed in his thinking a little way beyond Cynicism. The question arises: Was the Stoic interdiction of pity and envy from the emotional habits of the sage an idea arising at first from Zeno's picture of a state in which none envied or pitied? ¹¹

To return from the political to the psychological and theological aspects of envy, we note that in both the *Phaedrus* and the *Timaeus* Plato excludes envy from the divine nature, in passages which, though of quite different context, alike reinforce Plato's general doctrine that the deity is not answerable for evil (θεὸς ἀναιτίος, *Rep.* 617 E), and that there is no prescribed limitation to man's becoming like to God (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ, *Theaet.* 176 B). In the *Phaedrus* the soul is compared to a charioteer driving two horses, disciplined passion and undisciplined passion. The soul of a god is such a driver too, with the difference that his horses are good and of good descent whereas in human beings they are of mixed and imperfect nature. The gods drive their chariots in splendid formations up to the region of transcendental reality, but whether a human soul can attain this region and how much of it he can see if he does attain it depend on the soul's ability to control the horses it is driving. Anyone who chooses to do so and is able to do so may follow the gyrations of the divine chorus, inasmuch as envy is excluded (φθόνος γὰρ ἔξω θείου χόρου ἵστανται, 247 A): that is, the deity does not begrudge the sight

¹¹ For the interpretation of the phrase "on the tail of the dog," see A. Döring, "Zeno der Gründer der Stoa," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CVII (1902), p. 217. The idea of a state or more especially an agrarian community in which there is no occasion for either pity or envy appears in Vergil's *Georgics*, II, 498 f.

of the things that really are to anyone: the failure is in the person.

In the *Timaeus* (29 D) Plato proposes to tell why the Builder built coming-into-being and this All. "The answer given is that He was good and being good could not begrudge His own goodness, but wished all things to be like to Himself as nearly as possible. His task involved imposing order on that which had been without order, but we must infer that in some way the disorderly substratum of the world was not entirely amenable to His efforts, and that in consequence evil could not be excluded from the world thus assembled. In the *Theaetetus* (176 A) Plato suggests the metaphysical necessity of evil: evil exists because there must be something opposed to the good. There too it is said that evil cannot have a place among the gods, but must of necessity wander about among mortals. The main point of the *Timaeus* passage must also be that God is not to blame for the evil in the world, that He does not begrudge His goodness, and that the possibilities of moral progress are therefore unlimited. This passage has, however, been quoted as an illustration of the idea of creation passing into that of manifestation, or of creation on the "principle of metaphysical bounty."¹² One can only object that to read such an idea into the *Timaeus* passage is to rethink it in terms of a dogmatism foreign to Plato. Plato is not interested in the psychology of God in this passage. He did not ask the question why God was not content with eternal self-communion. And the reason given for the creation does not convey any implication as to a necessity of deity or of goodness or of love to overflow and reveal itself in creation or to impose itself on a preexisting disorder.

In the *Epinomis* (988 B) it is said that the Greeks should never have any qualms about concerning themselves with divine matters because they are mortal. For, as a matter of fact, deity itself instructs us and could not be so ignorant of itself or so out of sorts with that which is able to learn that it would not ungrudgingly rejoice with him who becomes good through the help of God. In the first book of the *Metaphysics* (982 b 24-983 a 11) Aristotle compares philosophy to other kinds of knowledge and

¹² Pringle-Pattison, *The Idea of God*, pp. 308 f. Cf. J. Laird, *Theism and Cosmology*, p. 144, and *id.*, "The Philosophy of Incarnation," *H. Th. R.*, XL (1940), pp. 135, 140.

finds it is the only one pursued for its own sake and is therefore the most worthy and divine science and the one which deity would be most likely to possess. Then if there were any truth to the statement of poets that deity is naturally jealous, it would seem probable that all who excelled in this kind of knowledge would be ill-fated. But the deity is not jealous. It has been plausibly conjectured that this passage derives from Aristotle's *Protrepticus*.¹³ In any case it goes back to the *Timaeus* and *Phaedrus* passages, and if we bear in mind that for Aristotle the highest virtue and the highest happiness consist in contemplative activity, and that such activity is the only kind of action assignable to the gods (*E. N.* 1177 a 12-18, 1178 b 7-23), and if we also recall that for Plato too progress in virtue is becoming like to God, and that for Plato too this assimilation to God is a topic of the protreptic to philosophic activity (*Theaet.* 176 A-B), we must confine ourselves to saying that the topic of the *Metaphysics* passage was eminently adapted to the protreptic to philosophy and may well have appeared in Aristotle's *Protrepticus*.

Thus far we have given our attention almost exclusively to the emotion of envy, though we have had a hint of the reciprocal relation of pity and envy in the suggestion of Democritus that the pity of the upper classes might heal the envy of the lower classes. Now we come to a passage in the *Philebus* in which Plato suggests that all of life is a tragedy and a comedy by which we are moved to pity and envy and kindred emotions (50 B). These emotions are a mixture of pain and pleasure and belong to the soul only. Plato does not actually name pity in the list, but, as I have pointed out elsewhere,¹⁴ his reference to the enjoyment which the spectators of tragedy take in weeping (48 A) shows that he has in mind the emotion pity. And just as the spectator of tragedy enjoys weeping and therefore is both pained and pleased, so the spectator of comedy enjoys the emotion of envy under circumstances which make it a kind of unrighteous pain, and thus experiences a mixture of pleasure and pain, i. e., he takes pleasure in a feeling which is painful. Plato was aware of the complications of this analysis (*ὅσῳ σκοτεινότερόν ἐστιν*,

¹³ See W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, p. 73, note 1, and B. Einarson, "Aristotle's *Protrepticus* and the Structure of the *Epinomis*," *T. A. P. A.*, LXVII (1936), p. 267, note 19.

¹⁴ "Pity in Plato's Dialogues," *C. W.*, XXXV (1942), pp. 245 f.

48 B). The type of envy meant is obviously *epichairekakia*: hence the pleasure. We are pleased to see others lacking the special insight which we as spectators enjoy, and our pleasure in their lack implies perhaps that we begrudge them such insight. Those who do not have self-knowledge have false conceits concerning their wealth, appearance, virtue, or wisdom (48 C-49 A). These false conceits constitute ignorance and are therefore a misfortune, as Plato's equation of knowledge and virtue does not allow the possibility that "ignorance is bliss." Dividing mankind into the powerful and the weak we see that the possession of such conceits by the former is hateful and shameful, inasmuch as it is harmful to those exposed to its operation, whereas the strengthless type of conceit takes on the rank and aspect of the ridiculous. Yet when those to whom we are amiably disposed, those who do not by virtue of their position or resources have the power to avenge themselves on us for our laughing at them—when such friends suffer this misfortune, it is wrong to rejoice instead of grieving (49 D). Plato may have in mind a comedy in which the characters are persons of moderate social status whose conceits are set forth in a ridiculous light. Grote in a note on the passage asks "how the laughers can be said to experience a mixture of pain and pleasure here?" The answer must be that if the pleasure is malignant—and it is, since it involves pleasurable feelings at the spectacle of misfortune—it partakes of wrongdoing. Wrongdoing of any kind is in the nature of a disease of the soul and may therefore be regarded as painful, however little the wrongdoer is conscious of pain. The spectator of comedy need be no more aware that his amusement at the ridiculous is sharpened by an admixture of pain than the indulger in physical pleasures need be aware that it is the admixture of pain that titillates him and mildly irritates him (*Philebus* 47 A).

Shorey illustrates Plato's use of *phthonos* here by citing Shakespeare's "The abject people gazing on thy face | With envious looks, laughing at thy shame,"¹⁵ in which the envious looks are those of the *epichairekakia* of one who gloats viciously over the downfall of his enemy, a passion regarded with extreme dread by the characters of Greek tragedy,¹⁶ whereas the *phthonos* of the

¹⁵ Shorey, *What Plato Said*, p. 610.

¹⁶ Cf., e. g., Euripides, *Medea*, 765 ff. Cf. also Ovid, *Ibis*, 116, and Schopenhauer, *Grundlage der Moral*, 19, 6.

Philebus is so mild a form of *epichairekakia* that even Plato does not seem to condemn it save from a technical point of view and with a view to accomplishing the transition from the discussion of the mixed pleasures to that of the unmixed. And if, following Plato's suggestion, we understand the emotion to be amusement afforded by the whole comedy of life, it then presents a striking parallel to the consolation which Democritus recommends to his followers. The fragments of Democritus do not permit us to arrive at his full thought on the matter, but we may be sure that he did not mean to recommend *epichairekakia*, in any form, for in one fragment (107a) he says, "One who is himself a human being ought not to laugh at other human beings' misfortunes, but rather to grieve," and in another (293) he says, "Those who derive pleasure from their neighbors' misfortune do not understand that the changes of fortune are common to all, and moreover they are at a loss for something of their own to be happy about." Evidently Democritus did not see any inconsistency between the purport of these fragments and that of another (191) in which he counsels the reinforcement of *eithymia* by the consolation to be derived from comparing one's own life with the more unfortunate lives of others. If we do this and refrain from admiring those who are rich and are counted blessed in men's eyes we shall have hit upon a way of thinking that will make us live more cheerfully and will oust those not slight banes of existence, envy and rivalry and ill-will. It has been argued that it is the spectacle of the folly rather than of the misery of mankind that Democritus recommends for its consolatory efficacy, and that it was his own amusement over this spectacle that gave him the reputation of being the "laughing philosopher."¹⁷ The opening lines of the second book of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* are the *locus classicus* for this kind of consolation. Carneades thought it adapted to the uses of the malevolent.¹⁸ Seneca (*De Tranquillitate*, 12, 4) speaks of pitying people who are, as it were, running to a fire. It seems then that

¹⁷ See Hirzel at *Hermes*, XIV (1879), pp. 395-407; Philippson at *Hermes*, LIX (1924), pp. 414 f.; Kiessling-Heinze on Horace, *Epist.*, II, 1, 194; and Mayor on Juvenal, X, 28-53.

¹⁸ See Stevens, "A Lucretian Topic of Consolation," *C. W.*, XXXVII (1944), pp. 139 f. Cf. also the opinion of Plutarch that curiosity about the troubles of others is a disease involving envy and malignity: *De Curiositate*, 515 D.

pity and *epichairekakia* may in certain degrees be experienced as one emotion. Rousseau remarks on the pleasure of pity: "La pitié est douce, parcequ'en se mettant à la place de celui qui souffre, on sent pourtant le plaisir de ne pas souffrir comme lui."¹⁹ And Hume observes that just as our estimate of our own happiness or misery is formed by a comparison with the happiness or misery which we observe in others or recall in our own experience, so it is true that we feel a "reverst sensation": another person's pain is painful to us in itself, but pleasurable in that it enhances the idea of our own happiness.²⁰ In "The Stoic" Hume brings the two emotions together in his picture of the sage surveying the follies of mankind with mixed feelings of pleasure and compassion. Finally, and not to mention the Ironies and Pities of Thomas Hardy's *The Dynasts*, we have Anatole France's two good counselors, irony and pity: "l'une, en souriant, nous rend la vie aimable; l'autre, qui pleure, nous la rend sacrée. L'Ironie que j'invoque n'est point cruelle. . . . Elle est douce et bienveillante. Son rire calme le colère, et c'est elle qui nous enseigne à nous moquer des méchants et des sots, que nous pouvions, sans elle, avoir la faiblesse de haïr."²¹

Of course, France's irony has a kind of factitious serenity which sets it apart from the evangelical earnestness of Lucretius and the unconscious malice of Plato's spectator of comedy. Moreover Plato would forbid us to laugh at the wicked. For he says in the *Laws* (731 D) that we ought to let loose our anger on the incorrigibly wicked. May he not have in mind the real wrongdoing of the wicked when he says in the *Philebus* (49 D) that it is neither unrighteous nor envious to rejoice in the misfortunes of enemies? It is supposed that Plato has unaccountably lapsed into the manner of normal Greek ethics. Perhaps so, and in any case the whole discussion of the mixed pleasures could be clearer, and would be if Plato had more than a passing interest in it. I wish to suggest, however, that just as the "friends" at whose conceits we laugh when we see a comedy are simply people

¹⁹ Rousseau, *Émile*, iv, *init.* (= p. 250 Garnier).

²⁰ Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, Book II, Part II, § 8. The passage referred to from "The Stoic" is quoted by Merrill on Lucretius, II, 9.

²¹ A. France, *Le Jardin d'Épicure*, p. 122. Cf. *id.*, *Aveille*, xvi, and Paul Gsell, *Propos d'Anatole France*, p. 146.

of whom we do not disapprove on moral grounds, so the "enemies" referred to are people of whom we do disapprove because they are powerful and hateful and shameless (49 C, ἀγνοία γὰρ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἐχθρά τε καὶ αἰσχροί . . .). Then if our "enemies" are the wicked, we ought to rejoice in the misfortune or punishment consequent upon their sin. This emotion would be akin to that form of envy which Hippias called just because it begrudged wicked men the honor they receive.²² This just envy is then a kind of righteous indignation, and is in part the emotion *nemesis* as defined by Aristotle. It is neither necessary nor fitting to enter into a discussion of *nemesis* here.²³ The root meaning of the word is "apportion." The recipient of such regular favor as life, health, wealth, and the like, is prone to rivet his attention upon the point where the distribution breaks off and to wonder whether he will be cheated of his due share, or whether he has already received too much and is due for a fall. And since envy is the emotion of one who begrudges someone something, he may ascribe his victimization to the envy of a god or of time, as Horace speaks of *invida aetas*. It is easy to see how *nemesis*, from having meant the apportioner or apportionment of favor, should come to signify the principle of apportionment or justice itself, and then should come to mean, or be made by Aristotle to mean, the emotion felt at the spectacle of unmerited favor. In the more primitive ethics against which Aeschylus protests (*Ag.* 750-81), the prosperous man as such might incur the *nemesis* of the gods. For Aristotle it is not prosperity but unmerited prosperity that arouses *nemesis*.

Nemesis is the first of three emotions opposed to and counter-acting pity (*Rhet.* 1386 b 9), but it is like pity in that both emotions are characteristic of the good man, the one being aroused by the spectacle of unmerited prosperity, the other by that of unmerited misfortune. It is obvious that these emotions do not imply objective judgments if they are to be used as forensic devices. But Aristotle does not clarify the point, and when he says that *nemesis* may be aroused by the rise to political power of the *nouveaux riches*, or by the spectacle of another's getting a position to which we think we have a prior or better

²² Hippias, frag. 16, Diels⁴.

²³ See Tournier, *Némésis et la Jalousie des Dieux*, and Herter at *R.-E.*, s. v. "Nemesis."

claim, we are left to conjecture whether he meant these instances as illustrations of real or supposed injustice. *Nemesis* is not felt by the slavish or the bad or the unambitious, says Aristotle, for such people do not rate their deserts so high that they will feel indignation at another's advancement (1387 b 13-15).

Phthonos is evidently envy in the ordinary meaning of the word. Unlike *nemesis*, it involves no judgment as to merit. We envy people who are equal to us or like us, i. e., whose circumstances or social status resemble ours (1387 b 25-27). Evidently if I begrudge a rival his greater success, I feel *nemesis* or *phthonos* in accordance with my judgment of his deserts. The man who envies will also feel the third emotion, *epichairekakia*, since he who is pained by another's good fortune will rejoice in its loss (1386 b 34-1387 a 3). Elsewhere Aristotle distinguishes between envy and *nemesis* (*Top.* 109 b 35-110 a 4).

The treatment in the Aristotelian ethical treatises of those three types of envious emotion and of pity offers a curious example of the difficulties encountered in Aristotle's theory of mean and excess and deficiency, especially when this theory is made to embrace the emotions. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* *nemesis* is said to be the mean between *epichairekakia*, a deficiency, and *phthonos*, an excess (1108 b 1-6). The three emotions have in common the fact that they involve feelings of pleasure or pain at the spectacle of other people's circumstances. Let us imagine a vertical scale graduated in degrees of emotion aroused by the spectacle of other people's circumstances, and let us make the positive half pain and the negative half pleasure. Apart from the fact that zero would be indifference to others' circumstances, not painful reaction to the sight of unmerited prosperity, our scale would not take account of the nature of the circumstances stimulating the emotion. If we intersect the vertical scale with a horizontal scale whose positive half is graduated in degrees of prosperity and its negative half in degrees of distress, we should then have a means of graphing all degrees of sympathy—envy, pity, *epichairekakia*, and gratulation (reading from first to fourth quadrant), but our graph would not account for differences in merit in the good and bad circumstances on the horizontal axis. We see then that Aristotle is undertaking to measure on one scale data which require three scales.

Even if, on a more charitable view, we infer that Aristotle's

scale is graduated in degrees of pain aroused by the sight of good fortune, and admit that *nemesis* would have a lower reading than *phthonos* because unmerited prosperity appears less frequently than prosperity, we should still be at a loss to locate *epichairekakia* on the scale. Its reading might be zero because it is by definition joy and not pain, but it could not properly be on a scale of emotion aroused by prosperity, since it is aroused by distress. It is idle to try to clarify a system which is both forced and vague, but merely to see wherein the confusion exists may help us to untangle the further complications in the corresponding passages of the *Eudemian Ethics* and the *Magna Moralia*. The writer of the *Eudemian Ethics* seems not to know a word ἐπιχαίρεκακία, for he says the emotion of the ἐπιχαίρεκακος is without a name (1233 b 20-22). This writer enlarges the province of *nemesis* to include pain aroused by the spectacle of either unmerited prosperity or unmerited misfortune, and to include also joy inspired by the spectacle of either merited prosperity or merited misfortune. Thus *nemesis* comprises righteous indignation, pity, gratulation, and a kind of vindictive satisfaction in the sight of merited punishment, a kind of *epichairekakia* which might be thought to support the cause of justice. Reverting to the subject later (1234 a 24-33) the writer observes that whereas means may be praiseworthy without being virtues, and extremes need not be vices, yet means and extremes tend to virtue or vice, and so envy tends to injustice, and *nemesis* to justice. I suggest that the writer defined *nemesis* to fit its tendency, and thus has made it comprise all the emotional attitudes towards good or ill fortune which may be thought of as tending to support the idea of justice.

The author of the *Magna Moralia* (1192 b 18-29) makes *nemesis* only half as extensive, confining its meaning to a painful reaction to the sight of both prosperity and distress that are unmerited. At the same time his *phthonos* and *epichairekakia* operate without regard to merit, and so shade off into *nemesis*, since *phthonos* of unmerited success would be *nemesis*, as would also *epichairekakia* of merited misfortune. *Epichairekakia* as here defined is probably identical in scope with that of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, where it is not defined with reference to the merit of its occasion. But *nemesis* has been assigned the province of pity in addition to its own.

In our study of the treatment of pity and envy in Plato's

Philebus we might have included a reference to Aristotle's definition of tragedy (*Poet.* 1449 b 27 f.), in which, however, Aristotle is answering Plato's objection in the tenth book of the *Republic* (606 B) that tragic poetry by stimulating the emotions, and especially pity, tends to unfit a man for meeting his share of misfortune courageously. It is also to be observed that Aristotle rather pointedly denies the operation of envy or *epichairekakia* in the amusement afforded by comedy (*Poet.* 1449 a 34-37).

In our discussion of Plato's exclusion of envy from the divine nature we referred in passing to Aristotle's statement in the tenth book of the *Nicomachean Ethics* that the highest virtue and the highest happiness consist in contemplative activity, and that such activity is the only kind of action assignable to the gods. Aristotle mentions justice specifically as one of the virtues which the gods would have no occasion to exercise, inasmuch as they would have no contracts to make or observe (*E. N.* 1178 b 10 f.). It is to be inferred that, if they do not practice the virtue of justice, they do not experience the emotions that tend to justice. And if they are without the practical virtues altogether, they will be without mildness, which is a virtue in Aristotle (*E. N.* 1105 b 21 ff.), and they will lack the emotion of pity which is auxiliary to mildness. Thus Aristotle's gods or disembodied souls would never feel pity or envy. For the virtues to which these emotions are auxiliary are practical: they are not ends in themselves, but means to the achievement of power, honor, or happiness, whereas the virtue of contemplative reason is its own end (*E. N.* 1177 b 15-25). A life spent in this highest virtuous activity would be impossible for man (1177 b 26 ff.), but man will strive to live so and will succeed in so far as he has aught that is divine in him.

It is not apparent that the Stoic conception of a wise man who, being devoid of all but the most rational emotions, feels neither pity nor envy, is indebted to Aristotle's adumbration of an ideal man. The Stoics, proceeding in the main from the Socratic doctrine that virtue is knowledge, confounded intellect and will with emotion and thus made emotion a kind of judgment, a judgment which might be rational and correct and therefore worthy to be entertained by the sage, or might be irrational, erroneous, and perhaps vicious. For an emotion to be rational, it must be in accordance with nature, which is always rational.

If nature holds up to our eyes a spectacle of misfortune and we are pained and feel pity, we, by the very fact of the emotion, pass an adverse judgment upon a circumstance which nature has brought to pass and which must therefore be right and rational. The sage may experience emotions which the Stoics distinguish as being rational, such as affection for a friend.

As for envy, the subject of a book by Cleanthes,²⁴ the Stoics have hardly innovated. And in the light of Plato's and Aristotle's treatment of pity and envy, we might expect the Stoics to regard pity and envy as reciprocal emotions which must be admitted or rejected together.²⁵ But we could not anticipate the device by which the Stoics were enabled to admit by another door and under another name the rejected pity.²⁶ This device consists of Chrysippus' development of the distinction between the three classes of things, those to be preferred, those to be rejected, and those that are morally indifferent. The third category afforded a means of sidestepping the question whether a thing or a condition was unalterably good or bad. Here the Stoics placed leniency or clemency, and so the Stoic who could not pity or forgive could be merciful.²⁷ No doubt this modification of Stoic doctrine—if it may be so termed—was made under pressure of criticism. So too the Stoics seem to have opposed criticism by calling attention to the invidious character of pity, which gives its alms not without an admixture of scorn and fastidious contempt for the beneficiary,²⁸ a criticism repeated by Spinoza and by Nietzsche.²⁹ However paradoxical or unreasonable the Stoic psychology may seem, we have to bear in mind that much of our information derives from sources hostile to it. Plutarch reports the Stoics as denying that there is such an emotion as *epichai-*

²⁴ Diogenes Laertius, VII, 175 = von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, I, p. 107, 17.

²⁵ Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, III, 20-21.

²⁶ See Plutarch, *Virt. Mor.*, 9, and Hicks, *Stoic and Epicurean*, pp. 109 f.

²⁷ Seneca, *Clem.*, II, 7 (von Arnim 453 = III, p. 110, 11-19).

²⁸ Seneca, *Clem.*, II, 6, 2: *dabit manum . . . egenti stipem, non hanc contumeliosam, quam pars maior horum, qui misericordes videri volunt, abicit et fastidit quos adiuvat, contingique ab iis timet, sed ut homo homini ex communi dabit.*

²⁹ Cf. Spinoza, *Eth.*, IV, 50; W. M. Salter, *Nietzsche the Thinker*, pp. 301-13; and also Pascal, *Pensées*, 452.

rekakia, and is amused by the inconsistency they show when they go to the trouble of defining it.³⁰ This is captious criticism. *Epichairekakia* is a word admitting of definition whether the emotion exists or not. And of course it could not exist according to Stoic doctrine, for to rejoice in other people's apparent misfortunes would be to ratify the work of nature by an act of judgment. Evidently Chrysippus gave his approval to the kind of consolation afforded by other people's troubles.³¹

Apparently it was only the Stoics who condemned pity. The Cynics (Diogenes Laertius, VI, 5) and the Cyrenaics (*id.*, II, 91) condemned envy, and Epicurus said, "We should envy none: for the good do not deserve our envy and the bad only do injury to themselves the more they prosper."³² In a passage which is believed to have been attached to the *Letter to Pythocles* by a later Epicurean who wished to provide an authoritative text combatting Stoic views, hatred, envy, and contempt—the emotions we might feel towards superiors, equals, and inferiors, respectively—are said to be the cause of injurious action. The wise man will overcome them by reasoning. Yet the wise man will be more subject to emotion without thereby being hindered on his way to wisdom. He will not punish his slaves, but will pity them and forgive the deserving ones.³³ It is envy of the powerful and honored, according to Lucretius, that eats men's hearts until they are convinced that they themselves live in foul and loathsome circumstances (*De Rerum Natura*, III, 74-77). When the animal hide was first found to be a useful clothing, men probably tore it off the wearer and rendered it useless in their envy. Thus envy has always been that which prompted men to crime and to boundless lust (V, 1412-25). It was pity for the weak that prompted men to form covenants for mutual security. And so to pity is due such humanity as men enjoy (V, 1019-27).

The Stoic conception of Providence excludes the possibility that deity might feel pity or envy. Carneades attacked the Stoic ascription of virtue to deity and by as it were antinomic arguments demonstrated the difficulty of conceiving of deity

³⁰ Plutarch, *De Stoicorum Repugnantibus*, 25, 1-3.

³¹ Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, III, 59 f.

³² Frag. 53, *Vatican Collection* (Bailey).

³³ Diogenes Laertius, X, 117 f. (Bailey, *Epicurus*, p. 164).

either with or without virtue, and thus made the task of the future theologian so much the greater.³⁴ The gods of the Epicureans, however obscure their nature and reason for existing may be in other respects, cannot show favor or mercy.³⁵ Christian thinkers seek to circumvent the Sceptic quibbles concerning the virtues and emotions of God by the device known as the Pickwickian sense. Thus Lactantius affirms that God feels both wrath and pity, but not in a temporal sense.³⁶ Similarly, St. Augustine writes: "... absit autem ut impassibilem Dei naturam perpeti ullam molestiam suspicemur. Sicut autem zelat sine aliquo livore, irascitur sine aliqua perturbatione, miseretur sine aliquo dolore, poenitet eum sine alicuius suae pravitatis correctione: ita est patiens sine ulla passione."³⁷ Probably such a line of reasoning was designed not only to satisfy the demands of philosophy but also to combat such heresies as that according to which God expelled Adam from Paradise because of envy.³⁸ Milton, whether because he was acquainted with this opinion or because he was interested in envy,³⁹ represents Satan as being convinced of God's envious character (*P. L.*, I, 258 and IV, 514-27) and at the same time as using the improbability that envy should "dwell in heavenly breasts" as a means of convincing Eve that there is no danger involved in tasting the forbidden fruit (IX, 729 f.). Satan himself is almost an embodiment of envy (IV, 114 f.), whereas God is said explicitly to give precedence to mercy over justice (III, 132-4; cf. III, 140 f.).

Of later philosophic treatments of envy or pity, Plutarch's *Moral Essays* gather a number of minor commonplaces on envy and contribute a few apparently original observations on the psychology of envy and pity.⁴⁰ But the main lines of the ancient

³⁴ See Stevens, "Divinity and Deliberation," *A. J. P.*, LIV (1933), pp. 236 f.

³⁵ Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 107, 10-12 (from Philodemus, π. εὐσεβ.): εὐσεβῆς δὲ περὶ θεῶν, ὃς ἐκάτερον ἐξορίζει μὲν νοῶν αὐτὸν χωρὶς ὀργῆς καὶ χάριτος ἀσθενοῦσης τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ παρασκευὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν. . . . Cf. M. Guyau, *La Morale d'Épicure*, p. 175.

³⁶ Lactantius, *De Ira Dei*, 21, 8 ff.

³⁷ Augustine, *De Patientia*, 1, 1 (Migne, XL, p. 613).

³⁸ See Filastrius, 115.

³⁹ "Envy" was to have been one of the "mutes" in Milton's projected tragedy, *Paradise Lost*: see Milton's *Works* in the Columbia U. Press edition, XVIII, p. 230.

⁴⁰ Anger, says Plutarch in the *De Cohibenda Ira*, is less discriminating

philosophic opinions on pity and envy have been set forth, and our task, with such oversights and errors of interpretation as will be revealed, is finished. Much has been omitted in order to keep the study within bounds. No attempt has been made to find a ruling idea, as was made by Hirzel, whose treatment of envy as a symptom of Greek equalitarianism is useful and suggestive,⁴¹ or as was made by Svend Ranulf, whose discursive and sociological treatment is mainly concerned with the question to what extent Athenian law was founded on the emotions of envy and indignation.⁴²

Bertrand Russell says that envy is the most unfortunate of all the characteristics of ordinary human nature,⁴³ and that a deficiency of pity is the cause of some of the greatest of social abuses.⁴⁴ Whether these statements are true and in what sense it may be true that "pity ever healeth envy,"⁴⁵ are questions

than love, envy, and fear. We do not envy, but may be angry at, underlings (§§ 5 and 11). Anger, even when one is jesting, turns good will to hatred. A prosperous person's anger increases the envy aroused in others, and an unfortunate person's anger abolishes the pity others may feel for him. Anger is compounded of the seeds of all the passions: from envy it has drawn *epichairekakia*, and it has an appetite for harming others (15). (Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, III, 19 f., and Seneca, *Dial.*, V, 5, 5.) In the *De Invidia et Odio* Plutarch observes that envy and hatred are often taken to be the same emotion. The prosperous man is a source of pain to both the envious and the hateful. Hatred discriminates, whereas envy is simply of the prosperous (2). We may hate, but not envy, animals (3). Animals may hate one another but are incapable of envy (4). (*Contra*: Aristotle, *H. A.*, 488 b 23-6; Theophrastus at Diogenes Laertius, V, 43, and Apuleius, *Apol.*, 51, 15; Aelian, *N. A.*, III, 17, 19, IV, 17.) Envy is never, hatred sometimes, just. Men conceal envy and acknowledge hatred (5). Hatred battens on its object's degradation, envy on its object's moral progress (6). Hatred's intent is to harm, envy's to humble.

⁴¹ Cited *supra*, note 2.

⁴² Svend Ranulf, *The Jealousy of the Gods and Criminal Law at Athens*.

⁴³ B. Russell, *The Conquest of Happiness*, p. 85.

⁴⁴ *Id.*, *What I Believe*, p. 43.

⁴⁵ Bacon, *Essays*, "Of Envy." Bacon is referring to the fact that men in high office may "abate the edge of envy" if their experiences or deportment are such as sometimes to inspire pity. For concrete illustrations of the principle involved see Clytemnestra's endeavor to persuade Agamemnon that there is no need to fear envy inasmuch as the prosperity of the present is offset by the sufferings of the past (Aeschylus).

outside the scope of this paper, the purpose of which is not to prove anything but to assemble material which seemed to the writer to form a separable chapter in the history of the psychology of emotion.

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lus, *Ag.*, 904 f.), and Nicias' attempt to cheer the Athenian army with the thought that since the Athenians had suffered severely it was reasonable to suppose that their condition would now inspire the gods with pity rather than with envy (Thucydides, VII, 77, 3), and Antony's effort to make so pitiable a spectacle of himself that his soldiers would be convinced that there need be no fear of any *nemesis* caused by his former good fortune (Plutarch, *Ant.*, 44).

THE IDENTITY AND ORIGIN OF EURYCHUS IN THE SHIPS' CATALOGUE OF HYGINUS.

The somewhat careless work of the first editor of Hyginus' *Fabulae*, combined with the disappearance of the unique MS shortly after the publication of the first edition, left many inaccuracies in the text, some of which still await correction. One which is wrongly emended in even the best and latest edition, that of Herbert Jennings Rose (Leyden, 1934), is the name Eurychus in the Catalogue of the Ships. Where Micyllus in the first edition¹ had as one of the leaders "Eurychus Pallantis et Diomedae filius Argis," Rose has "Euryalus. . ."² I think that a re-examination of this question will show that Eurychus is a mistake, not for Euryalus, but for Eurytus, and, further, that from the correct identification of this particular leader can be deduced some information about the version of the Homeric Catalogue used by the Greek author who was Hyginus' source.

Not another one of the many extant Ships' Catalogues includes a leader named Eurychus; the name is an evident mistake. Johann Scheffer in his edition of 1674 offered the conjecture *Euryalus* adopted into the text by Rose, an emendation apparently very reasonable because it seems to restore to this Catalogue one of the regular ships' leaders who ought not be missing from it. No editor since Scheffer has suggested any other emendation.³

But whoever Eurychus is, he is almost certainly not Euryalus.

¹ I depend on Rose's apparatus criticus for the reading of the first edition.

² Cap. XCVII, "Qui ad Troiam expugnatum ierunt et quot naues," p. 72.

³ Since Scheffer the *Fabulae* has been edited by Muncker (1681), Van Staveren (1742), Bunte (1856), Schmidt (1872), and Rose. The first two mention the Euryalus conjecture, apparently with approval. Bunte ignored it; he simply compared the text of Hyginus with Homer's in the conviction that Hyginus' information ought to agree with Homer's. Schmidt more or less rewrote Hyginus' Catalogue; he adopted the conjecture but shifted *Euryalus Pall.* to the point in the text from which Homer's Euryalus the son of Mecisteus is missing. Bunte and Schmidt (and of course Rose) knew well what leaders Homer named in the passage where Hyginus named Eurychus, but that knowledge led none of them to a realization of the identity of Eurychus.

Although Hyginus does not indicate grouping for those leaders who in Homer held joint commands, nevertheless he does not anywhere break up and scatter the Homeric groups. Homer begins his Catalogue, for instance, with the five leaders of the Boeotians. Hyginus does not begin with them and does not say they held a joint command, but he does name them consecutively, as the twenty-fourth to twenty-eighth leaders in his Catalogue. Euryalus, then, according to Homer a co-leader with Sthenelus under Diomedes, ought to be named in Hyginus along with those two leaders and would be simply inexplicable in the position of Eurychus.

The positive evidence that Eurychus is really Eurytus lies in the immediate context of the name, and his identity becomes clear if one compares Hyginus' Catalogue with its obvious source, the Homeric Catalogue. The portion of Hyginus' Catalogue containing the name Eurychus read in its unemended state in the first edition as follows: *Amphimachus Cteati filius Elea, nauibus x. Eurychus Pallantis et Diomedae filius Argis, nauibus xv. Amarunceus Onesimachi filius Mycenis, nauibus xix. Polysenes Astionis et Pelorides filius Aetolia, nauibus xl.* This passage is a reflection, however distorted, of Homer's account of the leadership of the Eleans, or as Homer usually calls them, the Epeians,⁴ from Elis:

τῶν [of the Epeians] μὲν ἄρ' Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Θάλπιος ἡγησάσθην,
 υἱὲς ὁ μὲν Κτεάτου, ὁ δ' ἄρ' Εὐρύτου, Ἀκτορίωνε.
 τῶν δ' Ἀμαρυγκείδης ἦρχε κρατερὸς Διώρης.
 τῶν δὲ τετάρτων ἦρχε Πολύξεινος θεοειδής,
 υἱὸς Ἀγασθέneos Ἀνγηιάδαο ἄνακτος (B 620-4).

I list in parallel columns these leaders in the order in which they occur in each Catalogue, together with the names just preceding and just following the group in each Catalogue:

Homer	Hyginus
Ἀγαπήνωρ	Agapenor
Ἀμφίμαχος	Amphimachus
Θάλπιος (son of Eurytus)	Eurychus
Διώρης (son of Amarunceus)	Amarunceus
Πολύξεινος	Polysenes
Μέγης	Meges

⁴ Strabo, 340, discusses the terms *Epeians* and *Eleans*. Cf. also Euripides' *Iph. in Aul.*, 280-1.

Comparison of recovered fragments of the MS with Micyllus' text shows that he was sometimes confused by the Lombard form of the letter *t* of the MS,⁵ and his misreading of Eurytus is perhaps due to the *t* in it.

The identification of Eurychus as Eurytus⁶ has the incidental advantage over Scheffer's conjecture of Euryalus that in the substitution of Eurytus for his son Thalpius we have an explanation of the strange absence of Thalpius from this Catalogue.

One possible objection to my identification of Eurychus is that Hyginus names as his parents an unknown Pallas and Diomeda,⁷ whereas Homer seems to call Eurytus the son of Actor, or Poseidon, and of Moliona.⁸ But since Hyginus' remarkably abundant genealogical data are quite frequently peculiar to him and his treatment of this leader is therefore not unique in this respect,⁹ the parents' names ought not constitute an objection to this identification.

Another possible objection is that Hyginus' Eurychus is not, like Homer's Eurytus, an Epeian.¹⁰ But Hyginus' geographical

⁵ See Karl Meuli, "Unser Text der Fabulae Hygini," *ANTIΔΩPON: Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel* (Göttingen, 1923), pp. 232-3.

⁶ The Eurytus of B 620, not to be confused with other heroes of the same name, at least one of whom is much more famous, the Eurytus of Oechalia who was a famous archer and who is also mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue, in B 596.

⁷ The author of the articles *s. v.* "Diomede" in Pauly-Wissowa presents as the only facts about the last of four ladies called Diomede that she was "Gattin des Pallas, Mutter des Euryalos, in Argos, Hygin. fab. 97. Die Lesung ist unsicher." As we have seen, the "Lesung" is indeed "unsicher."

⁸ Cf., with B 621, A 709 and 750-1. The use of the two apparent patronymics together in A 750 is against precedent in Homer and their meaning is therefore doubtful. For a recent discussion of Eurytus and his twin brother see *The Iliad of Homer Book XI*, ed. E. S. Forster (London, 1939), Note III, pp. 66-7 of the Appendix.

⁹ Cf. in the Ships' Catalogue alone the parentage he gives to Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, to Leitus, to Amarynceus. The Greek author who was Hyginus' source had a predilection for unusual versions of stories (H. J. Rose, *Modern Methods in Classical Mythology* [St. Andrews, 1930], p. 43) and so perhaps for unusual genealogies.

¹⁰ This was the point which stopped Andreas Dederich, the editor of Dictys, from identifying Hyginus' Eurychus with the Eurytus of Euripides. He observed: "Nomini Eurychi cum Euripidis (Iph. Aul. 282.) Euryto magna similitudo; sed Eurychus Hygini est Argivus,

information is too inaccurate to be made the basis of a valid objection. His Eurychus is one of a whole dozen leaders, scattered here and there throughout the Catalogue, who he says come from Argos. Of the leaders mentioned in this passage, who ought all to be from Elis, Amphinachus is from Elis, Eurychus from Argos, Amaranceus from Mycenae, and Polysenes from Aetolia.

If the point may be considered established that the correct emendation of the difficult *Eurychus* is not *Euryalus* but *Eurytus*, there remains the question of how Eurytus happens to be substituted in this Catalogue for the regular Catalogue leader, his son Thalpius. We may suppose, first, that this substitution is independent of the Catalogue's sources; or, second, that it is derived from the Catalogue of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, which is the only other Catalogue to name Eurytus as a leader; or, third, that it is derived, together with the substitution in the Euripidean Catalogue, from some still earlier instance of the same thing. I think an examination of the possibilities shows that the last is the most probable, and that we should suppose the earlier instance to have been in a version of the Homeric Catalogue differing from our vulgate.

The first explanation, that the substitution is independent of the Catalogue's sources, cannot be wholly ruled out of consideration. Since the *Fabulae* was derived from a Greek work and is not preserved in its original Latin form,¹¹ the possibility of error in translation, adaptation, and revision must be added to the ordinary risks and hazards of manuscript transmission. Some mistake in the history of the *Fabulae* may account for the substitution of Amarynceus for his son Diores in this same passage. But one explanation will not do for both Amarynceus and Eurytus, because Hyginus' Catalogue is the first (and only) one to substitute Amarynceus, but not the first to substitute Eurytus. It is not impossible that the authors of the Catalogues in the *Iphigeneia* and the *Fabulae* should have each independently introduced the same variation from Homer, but it seems most

Euripidis Eurytus Elius" (*Dictys Cretensis sive Lucii Septimii Ephemeridos Belli Troiani Libri Sex* [Bonn, 1833], p. 395). Dederich should have investigated the problem further, for the two are certainly the same, though Hyginus' Eurychus is, I am sure, not derived from Euripides.

¹¹ Rose's ed., "De Hygini Auctore Graeco," and "Num Pristina Fabularum Forma Hodie Conservata Sit," pp. viii ff. and xii ff.

unlikely; such an accidental coincidence must necessarily be suspect. Hyginus' work is a compilation from previous authors, and what is to be found both in it and in earlier works is almost certainly not original with it.

But the second possibility, that Hyginus' Eurytus is derived from Euripides' Eurytus, also seems improbable. Despite this divergence from Homer which it shares with the Catalogue of the play, Hyginus' Catalogue is definitely based on Homer and not on Euripides,¹² both in general and in this passage. Hyginus' Catalogue is basically Homer's, with additions; Euripides' is a brief selection from Homer. Homer names four leaders of the Epeians, and we have seen that Hyginus names a corresponding four leaders; but Euripides names Eurytus alone as the sole leader of the Epeians (*Iph. in Aul.*, 279-82). So Hyginus' Catalogue is not based on Euripides instead of Homer.

Neither, I think, is it based on Euripides and Homer. Hyginus, or his source, did not derive Eurytus from Euripides and add him to Homer, for Eurytus is already in Homer, named as we have seen in B 621 of the Catalogue.¹³ And it would be unlike the author of this Catalogue to imitate Euripides by eliminating Thalpius in favor of Eurytus (or anyone else). He was an eclectic Cataloguer and might have just added Eurytus from Euripides, if he had known Euripides, for his is the most inclusive Ships' Catalogue extant, with more leaders than any other. But Eurytus is not added. He is substituted, and substitution involves elimination. It is probable that the Catalogue's author did not know Euripides anyway, except in summaries of the plots of the plays, and so perhaps did not even know that there was a Euripidean Catalogue.¹⁴

¹² For convenience I refer to the authors of the three Catalogues as Homer, Euripides, and Hyginus; the question of the true authorship of each does not concern my point.

¹³ Even if the author of the Hyginian Catalogue worked not directly from Homer but only from a list of Homer's leaders which did not name their parents and so did not mention Eurytus, he could not have combined such a list with Euripides to produce the result we have. Since neither that list nor Euripides would have told him of the relationship of Thalpius and Eurytus, it is beyond belief that he would have hit upon Thalpius as the leader for whom he would substitute Eurytus, even if he had wanted to substitute him instead of just adding him.

¹⁴ Rose says in the preface to his edition, p. x, "unde non iniuria mihi

There is, fortunately, a much better way than the influence of Euripides to explain Hyginus' Eurytus. I suggested as the third and most likely explanation that Hyginus' Eurytus is derived, together with Euripides', from the substitution of Eurytus for his son Thalpius in some earlier Catalogue. But of course Homer is the source. I think this Eurytus is best explained in the same way as that suggested by T. W. Allen for Euripides' Eurytus, that is, that he is derived from Homer, but Homer in a reading different from our vulgate, Homer with Eurytus named as one of the leaders of the Epeians.

Allen considered the Euripidean Catalogue in an article published in 1901¹⁵ and in his book, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*,¹⁶ published in 1921. In the article he suggests that the author of the Catalogue of *Iphigeneia in Aulis* made use of the so-called Euripidean edition of Homer, supposed to have been made by a younger Euripides, nephew of the poet, an edition with a version of the Catalogue differing somewhat from the one we know. In his book Allen suggests specifically what the reading of the Euripidean Homer might have been at this point: "Lastly, in the Elean section Euripides may have read Εὔρυτος for Θάλαπιος, and in the next line Εὔρυτος 'Ακτορίωνος.'" ¹⁷

If Euripides did have such a text of Homer, in it lines B 620-1 must have run, not as I have quoted them above from the vulgate, but as follows:

τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Εὔρυτος ἡγησάσθην,
νῆες δὲ μὲν Κτεάτου, ὃ δ' ἄρ' Εὔρυτος Ἀκτορίωνος·

It is worth noting that Ἀκτορίωνος rather than Ἀκτορίωνε actually is the reading of most of the extant MSS.

This reading of B 620 hypothecated by Allen as a result of his study of Euripides' Catalogue is precisely what is needed to explain Eurytus in Hyginus' Catalogue and consequently lends support to Allen's case. Hyginus' Eurytus, when recovered

uideor arbitrari Hyginum uel auctorem eius non ipsos scaenicos adisse. . . ." Cf. Rose's *Modern Methods*, p. 42.

¹⁵ "The Euripidean Catalogue of Ships," *Class. Rev.*, XV (1901), pp. 346-50.

¹⁶ *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, ed. Thomas W. Allen (Oxford Univ. Press, 1921).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

from the misreading Eurychus and the misinterpretation of that as Euryalus, is I think evidence that there did really once exist a version of the Homeric Catalogue in which Eurytus was named as a leader in B 620. That version seems to have been used by the author of the Euripidean Catalogue probably early in the fourth century B. C. and then about four centuries later by the author of the Hyginian Catalogue.¹⁸

The three earliest extant Catalogues are those of Homer, Euripides, and Hyginus: Eurytus was a ship's leader in Euripides, and if he was in Homer, too, at least as Homer was known to our author, it would be a matter for some surprise if Eurytus were not a leader in the third extant Catalogue. Eurytus, a name which fits into the immediate context of Hyginus' Eurychus so much better than the conjectured Euryalus, is just as much as Euryalus a name to be looked for and expected in Hyginus.

The history of the Catalogue of the Ships in its transmission from work to work through various languages and many centuries is a complicated one. No given Catalogue can be thoroughly understood without a detailed comparative study of antecedent Catalogues, and yet such a study would be, and apparently has been, too extensive a project for any editor to undertake merely as a supplement to the editing of his own particular author and Catalogue; there is, therefore, need of investigation devoted just to the Catalogues. The further possible evidence in Hyginus' Catalogue for the Euripidean Homer I hope to take up later in a study of the post-Homeric Ships' Catalogues.

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¹⁸ Rose dates Hyginus' Greek author at about the beginning of our era, pp. vii-viii of his edition, p. 36 of *Modern Methods*.

SAPPHO IN "LONGINUS" (X, 2, LINE 13).¹

P has *ἐκαδε μ' ἰδρῶς ψυχρὸς κ' ακχέεται: ψυχρὸς* makes the line too long by two syllables. Editors simply cut it out—presumably as a gloss, but on what? What does it explain? It is not a gloss but an emendation. The verse is quoted in Cramer's *Anecdota* thus: *ἀδεμ' ἰδρῶς κακὸς χέεται. κακὸς*, being manifestly absurd, was lightheartedly changed by some copyist (or perhaps simply owner of a copy) into *ψυχρὸς*. An editor of Sappho will, of course, excise it. But an editor of Longinus should keep it, as it is clearly what L. wrote. J.-V. quote no less than four paraphrases of the ode, none of which refers to it.² But L. does, in the next section—*ἄμα ψύχεται κάεται* (*sic* J.-V.). Where *κακὸς* comes from is pretty clear: it is due to a misreading of *κακχέεται*. But the person who wrote *κακὸς* could not have had *ἀ δέ*: what he had is seen from P's *ἐκαδε*—namely *καδ δέ*.

The original reading was *καδ δε μ' ἰδρῶς κακχέεται: καδ δε*, being unintelligible,³ before the time of Cramer's grammarian (or his source) became *ἀ δέ*: *κακχέεται* likewise became *κακ(ος) χέεται: κακὸς* before L.'s time was emended into *ψυχρὸς*. Considering that this was probably the most famous of all Sappho's poems, it is disturbing to think what sort of texts even scholars like L. and Cramer's grammarian had to use. Even the first line is quoted by Apollonius, *De Pron.* once with *φαίνεται μοι*, and once, *expressly, φαίνεται φοι*.⁴

Not much use writing on the Aeolic dialect with texts like those! The evidence for *ἰδρῶς* feminine at once disappears. But to return to L. He apparently found in his copy *ιδρως* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \psiυχρος \\ κακ' \end{array} \right\}$ *χεται*.⁵ He knew all about *καδ δέ*, and *κακχέεται*, but the conclusion seems inescapable that he was incapable of scanning a plain Sapphic verse—which leads to some interesting speculations. Is

¹ Fuller references can be found in the critical notes and *testimonia* of Jahn-Vahlen.

² But Theocritus, 2, 106, not quoted by J.-V. has it (not a close imitation of Sappho), and Aedituus *ap.* A. Gellius, XIX, 9, 11 possibly.

³ In line 9, for *καμ μὲν*, P has *κᾶν μὲν*.

⁴ *φ* for *μ*. Could *μ'* in line 13 be for *φ*, i. e. *φιδρῶς*?

⁵ Unless he is quoting from memory, which would make it still worse.

it certain that even the hexameter meant very much to him? (I am not suggesting, of course, that he could not *scan* a hexameter.) I do not know if it is unparalleled, it is certainly most unusual, to quote hexameters with gaps, as he does—at 26, 1 and 27, 4; there seems no point in such small omissions (Vahlen's reference to his edition of the *Poetics* does not throw any light).

The fact is that L.'s attitude is not only unique, but almost the antithesis of all other ancient literary criticism. When we compare Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Sappho and Simonides, we see a typical example of the best Greek criticism—minute attention to detail, careful technical analysis, an ear susceptible to the subtlest nuances of verbal harmony, sensitive to every refinement of rhythm—prose and verse. There is nothing of this in L. His merits are of a completely different order—feeling for the sublime, rugged and grand, for passion and moral nobility, and a comparative indifference to art. Again, throughout L. there is little interest in rhetoric and dramatic art; he shows no real knowledge or appreciation of visual art or scenery; he had no ear for rhythm in verse or prose.⁶

This is partly of course due to his professed aim in writing the book, and we must not forget the lacunae. But there are other peculiarities, his extraordinary style, for instance. He writes long periods which he cannot manage; he uses abstract nouns in profusion, but in an un-Greek way; he uses extraordinary and unusual words and metaphors; he employs unskilfully typical Greek constructions (e. g. articular infinitive, article with neut. adj.). One notices all this in reading; but if we ask, "Where have I seen all this before?" there is only one answer—in Philo, Justin, Clemens Alex., Origen, Eusebius, products of Alexandrian Judaism. (It does not much remind me of St. Paul, but it does of *Hebrews*, usually connected with Alexandria.)

⁶ What he means by saying of the quotation in 39, 4, *δλον . . . ἐπὶ τῶν δακτυλικῶν εἴρηται ῥυθμῶν* I cannot imagine. I can read cretics, trochaics, or epitrites, but not dactyls. [I wonder if L. already spoke with the Byzantine accent. Dionysius of Halicarnassus *describes* the tonic accent, but I suspect it was already a learned affectation (like Roman talk about grave and acute, etc., in Latin), comparable to "Atticism." One scrap of evidence I have not seen noted. The *Orestes* music ignores acute accent in the melody, but *Hellenistic music never does*. (Music of the Roman period does—this time because it was now Byzantine, stress, not pitch.)]

If we assume that L. was a Jew, long familiar with the Bible before approaching Greek literature, all these peculiarities are accounted for. A highly-developed syntax, a language rich in abstractions, elaborately constructed periods, were all foreign to him. Literary criticism as represented by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Demetrius left him cold. What he admired and looked for was what he found in Hebrew literature (rather like the attitude of many English critics to French poetry).

What is the external evidence that L. was a Jew? There is the famous quotation from *Genesis*, in itself unconvincing, but not without weight if we put L. in the first century A. D.⁷ Then Caecilius of Calacte, of whom the book is professedly a criticism and supplement, was a Jew and associated with Timagenes, an Alexandrian—ὥς δέ τις, Αἰγύπτιος (Suidas). That Longinus took the *Genesis* quotation from him is pure assumption, and not borne out by the manner of quotation (especially "right at the beginning of the laws"). Again the adjective *παρένθυσος*, with which L. makes such play, was from Theodorus (Greek for John?) a Gadarene, ἀπὸ δούλων (like Caecilius), and therefore, like Meleager, probably a Semitic. Lastly not only in style but in vocabulary, L. has very many similarities to Philo (a long list in Roberts, p. 192; cf. p. 236).

Having written so far (apart from details) away from books, except Vahlen, it occurred to me that it would unexpectedly confirm my argument—an "undesigned coincidence"—if it were possible to connect L.'s patron Terentianus with Egypt, or with Jews. On consulting a library I found a Terentianus (the only T. I could find) in Martial, *qui nunc Niliacam regit Syenen* (I, 87, 6). There is some probability this may be the man. 1) Terentianus seems an uncommon name. 2) The remarks about the decline of eloquence fit in well with a contemporary of Tacitus' *Dialogue* (cf. too Seneca and Petronius)—Roberts gives the parallels. 3) Terentianus was apparently a patron of literature. 4) The command of the three cohorts at Syene

⁷ Joh. Siceliota says it was quoted by Demetrius of Phalerum—not impossible, considering Demetrius' connection with Alexandria just at the time of the beginning of the LXX—but how did John know? (quoted by J.-V. on 9, 10). That it is *inexact* may be due to the writer's familiarity with the Bible (I should not have noticed it myself: I did not look it up, nor did L.), and in any case many of L.'s quotations are *inexact*.

(Strabo, 797) would probably be an *early* step in his career. L. addresses him as *ἰ νεαρία* (15, 1), which would fit in with having met him in Egypt [Roberts suggests T. Maurus, but he cannot be placed as early (90-100 A. D.) as R. seems to suggest].

I cannot find any evidence in Roberts' edition or elsewhere, which tells against these inferences, but I do not claim for them more than a certain probability.

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THREE NEW MORTGAGE INSCRIPTIONS FROM ATTICA.

During a trip of exploration through Attica in July 1947, I found three more unpublished Greek mortgages. They are small markers (*horoi*) in the form of a sale subject to redemption and were set up on mortgaged lands and houses as public records. I have discussed the subject at length with bibliography in *Hesperia*, XIII (1944), pp. 16-21. With Mr. W. H. Buckler I have published the only long specimen of a *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*.¹ None survives in literature or papyri. So the stone *horoi* are important for the study of Greek law and mortgages. The smaller ones often take the form of *ἀποτιμήματα*, security for the property of minors or for dowries, such as No. 2. Most, however, take the form of sales subject to redemption.

1. (Fig. 1). A rough stone seen near Sunium, broken on all sides and rough on the back. Greatest height, 0.30 m.; width at top, 0.21 m.; at bottom 0.245 m.; thickness, from 0.05 m. to 0.055 m. Inscribed part 0.13 m. high. Letters badly cut; 0.015 m. to 0.02 m. high. I cleaned the stone, which had a heavy incrustation, looked at the stone in different kinds of light, made a copy, two squeezes, and took a photograph.

ΟΡΟΣΧΩΡΙΟ	ὄρος χωρίο
ΚΑΙΟΙΚΙΑΞΕΡΕΡ	καὶ οἰκίας περ-
ΑΜΕΝΩΝΕΡΙΑ	αμένων ἐπὶ λ-
ΥΞΕΙΦΙΛΟΘΕ	ύσει Φιλοθέ-
5 ΩΙΦΡΕΑΡΡΙ	5 ωι Φρεαρρί-
ΩΙΧΡ	ωι ΧΡ

The name *Φιλόθεος* is already known as that of a Phrearrian.²

¹ *A. J. A.*, XVI (1912), pp. 11-82; *Sardis*, VII, 1, pp. 1-7. Two smaller specimens have been published since the Sardis example, one from Mesopotamia and one from Sicily; cf. *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, XLVI (1926), p. 339; XLVII (1927), p. 494. For the division of the word (lines 3-4) *λ-ύσει*, cf. for example *I. G.*, II², 2690, 2702, 2708, 2720, 2736, 2746.

² Cf. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, no. 14499 (*I. G.*, II², 791, frag. d 33), dated 246/5 B. C. by Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (New York, 1939), p. 163, and 247/6 by W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 99.

Perhaps the Philotheus in our inscription was a grandfather or greatgrandfather of that one. The inscription, as do most of such *horoi*, dates from the fourth century before *ov* is used for *o* (*χωρίο*), i. e., about the middle of the century. The inscription has the same formula as many others,³ but there is only one mortgagee. There can be as many as five (cf. No. 3). Generally there are two or three, but rarely is there only one. However, the mortgage was for the small amount of 1500 drachmas.⁴ Philotheus was from the deme of Phrearroi,⁵ of the tribe Leontis, to which Sunium belonged.

2. (Fig. 2). Rough stele of white marble, found at Anavyso, given by me to the Agora Museum. Height, 0.28 m. Width, from 0.12 to 0.29 m. Thickness, 0.06 m. The letters are 0.01 (omicron) to 0.015 m. high. They are rudely cut. The lower part of the stone and the back are left rough.

ΟΡΟΣ	ὄρος
ΧΩΡΙΟ : ΑΓΟ	χωρίο : ἀπο-
ΤΙΜΗΜΑΤΟ	τιμήματο-
Ξ : ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡ	ς : Ἴπποστρ-
5 ΑΤΕΙ : ΠΡΟ	5 ἀτει : προ-
ΙΚΟΣ ϞΗΗ	ικὸς ϞΗΗ

This is a mortgage pillar set up to register the security given for the dowry of Hippostrate. For this type of inscription cf. *I. G.*, II², 2659-2683; *Hesperia*, III (1934), p. 65, no. 57; *Hesperia*, Suppl., VII (1943), p. 1. On the subject of dowry in general cf. the new book of Joannes M. Sontе, *Προῖξ κατὰ κλασσικὸν καὶ βυζαντινορωμαϊκὸν χρόνον*.

Generally we have *ἀποτίμημα*, but in *I. G.*, II², 2669 and 2678, *ἀποτιμήματος* (in 2679 *ἀποτιμημάτων*). Sometimes the participle occurs, *ἀποτετιμμένης* (2673) or *ἀποτετιμμένου* (2674) or *ἀποτετιμμένων* (2675, 2676). I know of only one larger mortgage, 1 talent, 2000 drachmas (*I. G.*, II², 2659). *I. G.*, II², 2680 has 5100; 2662 has 4500. The reading in this inscription is difficult, but after long study of the stone, squeezes, and photographs, I feel sure that the correct number is 5200. There are several

³ Cf. Robinson, *Hesperia*, XIII (1944), p. 19; *I. G.*, II², 2685, 2688 (1500 drachmas).

⁴ *I. G.*, II², 2671 is another Phrearrian mortgage for 1500 drachmas.

⁵ Cf. *A. M.*, XVII (1892), Pl. XII; *R.-E.*, s. v. *Δῆμοι*, cols. 115-118.

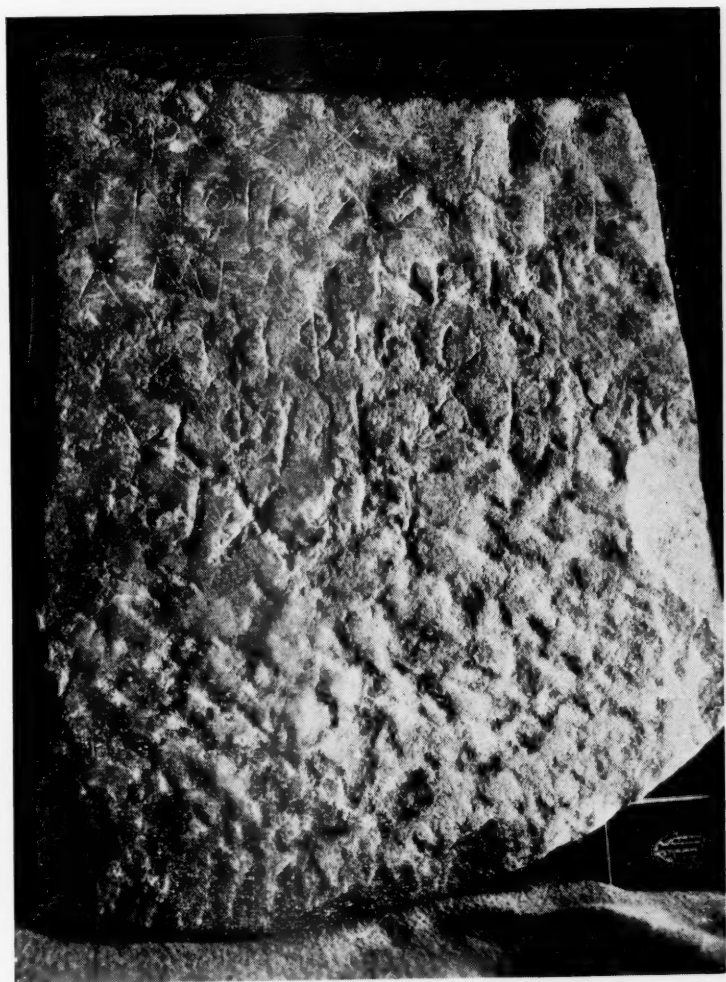


FIG. 1.



FIG 2.

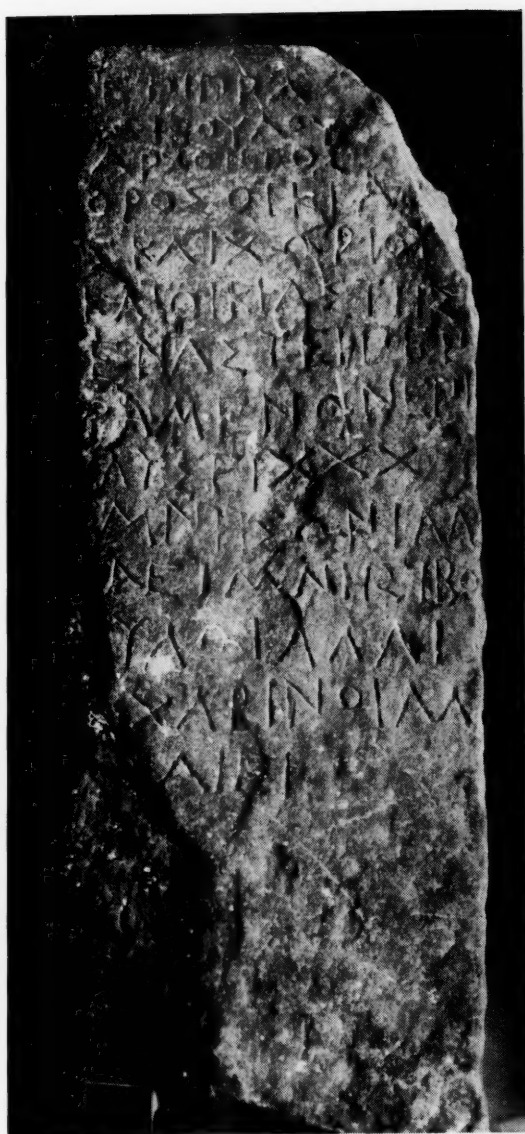
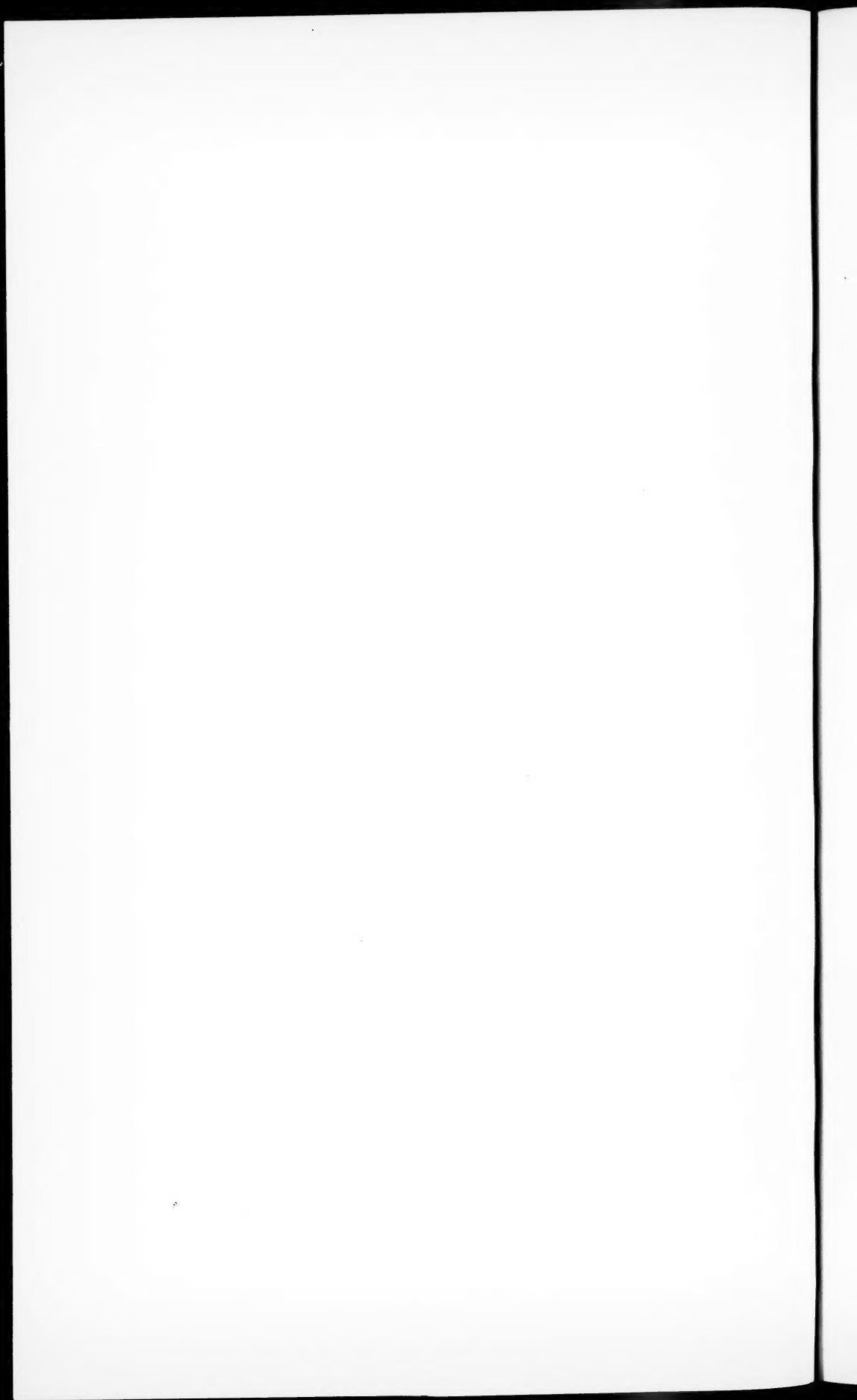


FIG. 3.



misleading vertical lines, but they are part of the stone itself. In such inscriptions the demotic is often omitted so that we are unable to identify the mortgagee. The name Hippostrate is found in Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, no. 7667, which is a contemporary inscription of the fourth century, as that of the daughter of Aristides, of the deme Anaphlystus.⁶ Since our inscription comes from Anavyso, the site of Anaphlystus,⁷ it may be the same person. The inscription dates from the middle of the fourth century. Omicron is still used instead of *ov* in the genitive,⁸ but *ει* for *η* as in *Ἱπποστράτει* does not occur before 378 B. C.⁹

3. (Fig. 3). Long stele of blue Hymettian marble found at Vari. Given by me to the Agora Museum. The upper right edge and lower left corner were broken in antiquity. Height, 0.59 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.06 m. Letters 0.008 m. to 0.02 m. high. Red paint remains in almost all the letters.

	ΕΡΙΓΡΑ		ἐπὶ Πρα-
	ΞΙΒΟΥΛΟΥ		ξιβούλου
	ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ		ἄρχοντος
	ΟΡΟΣ ΟΙΚΙΑ		ὄρος οἰκία-
5	ΞΚΑΙΧΩΡΙΟΥ	5	ς καὶ χωρίου
	ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ		καὶ οἰκίας τῆς
	ΕΝΑΣΤΕΙΡΕΤ		ἐν ἄστει πεπ-
	ΡΑΜΕΝΩΝΕΡΙ		ραμένων ἐπὶ
	ΛΥΞΕΙΧΧ		λύσει ΧΧΧ
10	ΜΝΗΞΩΝΙΑΛ	10	Μνήσωνι Ἀλ-
	ΑΕΙΜΝΗΞΙΒΟ		αἰ, Μνησιβο-
	ΥΛΩΙΑΛΑΙ		ύλω Ἀλαῖ,
	ΧΑΡΙΝΟΙΑΛ		Χαρίνοι Ἀλ-
	ΑΙΕΙ		αιεῖ

This inscription is the fifth boundary stone dated by the archon's name to the year 315/14 B. C.¹⁰ Omicron *upsilon* and not *o*

⁶ Hippostrate is also the name of the foster-child of Melitta on an Athenian gravestone in England, Marshall, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, IV, ii, 1916, no. 942.

⁷ Cf. *R.-E.*, s. v. Anaphlystos.

⁸ Cf. Larfeld, *Handbuch*, pp. 462 f.

⁹ Cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 39.

¹⁰ Cf. *I. G.*, II², 2725, 2726, 2744, 2745.

is used in the genitive. Unique in such inscriptions is the mention of an οἰκία ἡ ἐν ἄστει. I know of no parallel for a combined mortgage being given on a house and land and including a house in the city.¹¹ Also unique is the number of three mortgagees of the same deme taking one mortgage. In *I. G.*, II², 2654, 2693, 2705, 2727, 2735, 2692 (5 mortgages), and in the *horos* inscription which I published in *Hesperia*, XIII (1944), p. 19, we have two mortgagees from the same deme. The name Mneson occurs as that of the father of the *prytanis*, Mnesagoras of the same deme of Halae, who lived much later about 260-254 B. C., but who may have been a relative of the Mneson of our inscription.¹² Charinus of Halae is unknown.¹³ The use of *oi* for *oi* in line 13 is peculiar in view of the form in the preceding line Μνησιβούλωι. The spelling in this inscription, however, is careless, as is shown by the three ways in which the demotic is written, 'Αλαεῖ, 'Αλαῖ, 'Αλαιεῖ. In *I. G.*, II², 2686, we have the usual 'Αλαεῖ, but in 2701 we have 'Αλαεῖ. It is interesting, however, to have such itacism as in 'Αλαῖ as early as 315 B. C.

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¹¹ ἄστυ and not πόλις is used for the city even after 395 B. C., when ἐν ἀκροπόλει supplants ἐν πόλει. There is only one other case where the property involved is geographically identified, *I. G.*², 2718, ἐν Ἀνθρείωι, but that is not comparable. Mr. Moses Finley, who has completed under Professor Westermann of Columbia a dissertation on *Business Practices in the Greek City-States with emphasis on real property problems*, in the chapter on *Horoi*, calls attention to a late fifth century B. C. inscription from Halicarnassus, which gives a list of mortgaged properties seized by the temple in cases of default and then sold. Here the location of each item is given and οἰκίην τὴν ἐν πόλει occurs several times. Cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 46, lines 34, 36, 45.

¹² Cf. Kirchner, *op. cit.*, nos. 10239, 10392; *I. G.*, II², 678, line 24 (dated 255/4 B. C. by Dinsmoor and 256/5 by Pritchett and Meritt).

¹³ The deme Halae is supposed to be the first deme on the coast on the west side of Hymettus. The deme is 'Αλαῖ Αἰξωνίδες, not 'Αλαῖ Ἀραφηνίδες. It was situated near the modern Vari, where this inscription was found. Cf. *R.-E.*, s. v. Halai; Löper, *A. M.*, XVII (1892), pp. 342, 410, Pl. XII.

REVIEWS.

RHYS CARPENTER. *Folk Tale, Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1946. Pp. x + 198. \$2.50. (*Sather Classical Lectures*, XX.)

The Sather Lectures are "intended for a general public of intelligent, sympathetically interested, but not necessarily highly specialized listeners." In such lectures much may be said which would be stated differently in a treatise; but when lectures are printed, almost without alteration, they present opportunities for the writer, and problems for the reviewer. Dr. Carpenter is well aware of the "dangers of discoursing easily on difficult matters, and offering concise conclusions from inevident evidence"; but he has not been deterred from almost untrodden ground, believing that "to explore the background and ancestry of Homeric epic, we must travel north, not east or south," a complete reversal of the trend of Homeric study due to Mediterranean archaeologists. "The poetical speech of the Greek," he contends, "was European not Aegean," and for this view he finds support in folklore survivals.

As a *terminus ad quem* for "literature without letters" he rehabilitates the Pisistratid recension, with the congruous background of an "Old Attic" text, and the leaden archetype of Hesiod's poems seen by Pausanias, "scratchings" (γράμματα) older than the introduction of papyrus from Egypt, newly rediscovered in the seventh century. The present writer has given archaeological arguments for dating the *Shield of Heracles* between 650 and 575 B. C. (*J. H. S.*, LXI [1941]). Above this zero, Carpenter clearly distinguishes three categories of tradition. Saga "purports to be true facts and happenings held fast in folk memory." Fiction is "the persuasive decking-out of circumstance with trappings borrowed from contemporary actuality." It includes the mere imagining of persons, characters, and situations. Folk tale is "utterly unreal, but by no means utterly irrational"; and all these can be "sewn together in the rhapsode's glittering fabric."

II.

Modern criticism approaches all three across the romantic episode of archaeological discovery "from Schliemann to Blegen." One might compare the plight of a modern historian, approaching early Europe across the mirage of the Gothic Revival. But though archaeological discoveries revealed a long perspective of events to which the Poems are related as "saga," nothing (Carpenter thinks) is thereby proved about the relative date of our version of that "saga," on which there has been wide difference of opinion. Carpenter contends that Mycenaean culture has left little trace in the poems. But he overstates his case. Did Homeric warriors "normally" wear breast-plates? Is Homer "silent" about inlaid designs in silver and gold? Was the reference to σήματα λυγρά (not γράμματα) felt by the poet to be

"anachronistic and out of tradition"? Does not the "early classical" apparel of Homeric men appear in fresco at Mycenae? What of the ἐνώπια παμφανοῦντα of Menelaus' palace, which astonished Telemachus? Were Ionian houses frescoed in the seventh century? The resemblance of Homeric and Helladic (though not Cretan) *megara* cannot be merely denied. The "Nestor Cup" from Mycenae has four handles, though not in two pairs, as on the enormous cup in Sen-mut's fresco of the fifteenth century. Was the θρυγός of Alcinous' hall external? What difference would that make to its material? And was there not dark-blue *kyanos* as well as sky-blue? What needs to be explained is the occasional vivid description of objects and craftsmanship which had gone out of use in the poet's own time; not merely the general perspective of genealogy and political history. Carpenter overlooks the fact that rich Mycenaean tombs were looted in early Hellenic times: this would bring metal-inlay and queer-handled cups into his other category of fiction—"direct borrowing from the facts of experience," like the helmet of Meriones,—alongside that "oral tradition three or four hundred years old" which he calls "saga" (p. 30), with "here and there some poignant detail still adhering," which gives away his whole case.

There were also survivals. Carpenter overlooks the use of the Homeric chariot as a fighting platform; but surely this use was persistent. It goes back to the shaft grave *stela* at Mycenae, and comes down, in Cyprus, to the Ionian Revolt.

The vivid illusion of reality in the Poems, which Carpenter ascribes mainly to "fiction" is powerfully enhanced by the familiarity of Aegean topography. Circe's home may have been in European backwoods, but Cyclops-land is pure Mediterranean coast scenery. He notes that Poseidon's look-out on Samothrace is confirmed by observation, whereas where "saga" (or "fiction") prescribed an Achaean Wall, no longer there, the poet was at pains to demolish it (p. 37). He compares the Icelandic topography of the Grettir Saga, where not only the places but the characters are real, though described two centuries after the events. Looser relation of fact both to "saga" and to "fiction" is illustrated by the *Song of Roland*; the lapse of chronological perspective, by the *Niebelungenlied*; and the interpolation of "fiction" or "folk tale" into "saga," by the figure of Siegfried among Burgundians and Huns; and he takes the same view of Achilles among Agamemnon's vassals. From such diverse elements has the "fiction"-skill of the story-teller created the "World of Homer" in Aegean lands.

III.

Thus far there may be general agreement with Carpenter's re-formulation of the "Ionian Homer" of Wilamowitz' generation. But he has yet not proved a late date. "Fiction" and "folklore" coëxisted with "saga" in the banquet-halls of the Migration Period, if not (as Evans thought) in Mycenaean *megara*. But now comes "Trouble over Troy," the precise location of Priam's city. Carpenter starts from the Bunarbashi springs and the Bali-dagh, and follows Charles Vellay in rejecting Hissarlik. But it is mere guess-work that Hissarlik was "bramble-grown and probably deserted" in early

Hellenic times. Certainly it was at New Ilion that Xerxes sacrificed and Hellanicus—for whatever motive—located Homer's Troy. Nor could New Ilion dig a cess-pit without involuntarily "digging up Troy." Carpenter is content to recognize in Hissarlik the "high wall of Heracles"; he identifies Simois with the Kemer-su; and gives too little weight to Strabo's topography.

Deserting, then, both Strabo and Schliemann, Carpenter relies on the alternative story of the War in the *Cypria*, which he thinks pre-Homeric and related to the Aeolic colonization. Homer, during the later Ionic exploitation of the Hellespont, discovered the Bali-dagh and the Scamander; as he discovered the home of Odysseus in the western navigators' Ithaca. Though there was in Greek "saga" a Trojan War, "for want of written records . . . we shall never know what or where was Troy." It was an episode historical and momentous in the Ramessid "Sea Raids" and in the Aeolic colonisation; the name *Troia* may be related to *Etruria*—a conjecture philologically unobjectionable, "though rather startling in its implications." Carpenter speaks of the "flat screen of an almost timeless past"; but is no account to be taken of the chronological "grid" drawn by Greek genealogies over the sagas? His devastating conclusion is that "history is history, and oral epic is oral epic; we shall gain nothing by mistaking the one for the other." But we still need to know which is which; and is it not the essence of "saga" that it has an historical basis?

IV.

While "fiction," then, created a Homeric Age and Homeric World, with the slightest assistance from "saga," the relations between "fiction" and "folk tale" are very different. Folk talk, inspired by "deepseated human delight in overcoming in the imagination the frustration and physical barriers of ordinary earthly existence," and the fears, as well as the desires, of dreamland, meant little to the Greeks who desired, not to ignore or overstep, but to control them (p. 70). Olympus was no "beanstalk country," but more like our "heaven." Yet *Märchen* there were, for Lucian, Plato, Herodotus, and they may be detected in Homer, most clearly in the presentation of Achilles. Nineteenth century etymologies and Aryan nature-myth theories rest on elements of reality; and it is from northern *Märchen* too that Carpenter draws his illustrations. But the *Iliad* is not mere folk tale; it is a dramatic "novella," a character-study, developed under emotional stress: in this respect the *Niebelungenlied* must be compared with the *Volsungasaga* (p. 77). Yet for Carpenter, "folk tale" has little more influence on the Poems than saga. Here too, he seems to lose faith in his own criticism. Surely, from first to last, the "Wrath of Achilles" is folk tale in structure, however overwrought with fictional adornment and narrated, like the *Song of Roland*, in a context of saga. That Achilles' heel is not wounded within the poem, does not affect the part played by Thetis, and by Zeus.

This is the answer to Carpenter's question: "Is the *Iliad* then all sheer invention?" The attempt to find in Attic tragedy the key to its structure is not quite untried—Aristotle tried it, long ago—but it is curious that he does not accept the "argument from design"

(p. 84) as conclusive for single authorship; for what makes the unity of the *Iliad*, loquacious and discursive as it has become, is an "all embracing dramatic pattern"; and this implies power of invention—of "fiction" in a quite different sense—to combine and transmute saga and folk tale alike, so that Achilles for all his attributes becomes a human being with emotions, temptations, and a will that prevails.

This brings us back to the period of culture to which the actual poem is to be assigned. The arguments of the separatists, for Carpenter, stultify one another. Bronze and iron, body-shield and hoplite-shield, do not help him; and the suggestion of archaism seems to him superficial. For him the only "strata" are those of saga—remote hearsay—and of fiction, the poet's own surroundings. It is good to have this wholesome but not novel doctrine restated. But it only sets the lists for the fighting over the "Time and Place of Homer."

V.

The "Setting of the Odyssey," on the other hand, amplifies the argument for the *Iliad*, starting from the references to Phoenician traders which "fit perfectly our archaeological concept of their activities in Greek waters throughout the seventh century"—but surely also of the eighth and ninth? In the absence of any "Egyptian component," they are earlier than the opening of Egypt to Greek adventurers by the Twenty-sixth Dynasty:—but how much earlier? Herodotus' description of "Carian" armour is referred to those adventurers about 698 B. C. (p. 93) and marks the disuse of the "shelter shield," which Carpenter can (after all) detect in the *Iliad*: but the "shelter-shield" disappears from the monuments very much earlier than this. As Odysseus is to be one of these seventh century raiders, Herodotus' account of them may contain "conscious or unconscious memories of Homer." But did Herodotus think that Homer was describing seventh century armour?

This late date, for Homer's invention of Odysseus, Carpenter supports by ingenious examination of the topography of the Delta: "Menelaus had therefore been in Sais" (p. 100) after the establishment of Psammetichus. A third (and rather obscure) argument from the "gates of horn and of ivory" turns on an interruption of the ivory-trade in the eighth century, and Greek reversion to local horn or bone. All this ignores the much earlier uses of ivory, as the topographical argument ignores the thirteenth century Sea Raids, which Carpenter has already made the context of the Trojan War. The same wide-spread adventures undercut also his presentation of westward voyages in the eighth and seventh centuries; his geographical locations for some of Odysseus' adventures—Tripoli, Jerba, Pantelleria, Bonifacio—are probable enough, but prove nothing as to their date, so long as the Sea Raids are not somehow excluded. The Sirens, Charybdis, and Circe's home are not (he thinks) Mediterranean at all, but European saga "deftly localized" in waters unfamiliar to Greeks till the seventh century: Carpenter has not seen the Messina whirlpool at its best. These "latest-possible" dates are as much later than the traditional "date for Homer" as the Mycenaean and Achaean dates are earlier. Neither series is conclusive in any argument about the relations of saga, folklore, and fiction.

But lest saga should be admitted to such a place in the *Odyssey* as is conceded for it, even by Carpenter, in the *Iliad*, the folk tale ancestry, claimed already there for Achilles, is asserted in an ingenious and even fanciful way for Odysseus. This second half of the book (VI-VIII) is the *τρίτον κῦμα* by which some readers will be inclined to estimate the whole.

VI.

All over Europe, and further afield, the winter sleep, and other habits, of the bear have suggested that he dies, and comes to life again; and entitle him to respect and worship. Such a bear-daemon Carpenter finds in human form in Salmoxis, in Euripides' Rhesus, in Trophonius, in Lycaon, Arcas, and Callisto in Arcadia, and so westward to Arceisios the head of Odysseus' clan (p. 128). Nothing of this appears in Homer's story, of which the opening lines define the plot and the character of the hero, eliminating irrelevant matters. Though Carpenter thinks it "unwise to obscure the issue with etymological uncertainties" (p. 131) he brings us back by way of *Ulixes* to *Salmoxis*, and to a Thracian immigration into the Aeolid region of Middle Greece. The long disappearance of Odysseus, and his return, must originate somehow: "the parallel is there; but what does it prove?" (p. 152). We may ask the same question.

VII.

An even more ingenious study of a folk tale, *The Bear-Son*, by criteria with which classical scholars are "not conversant," is thought to show "how accurately" the *Odyssey* "parallels the leading narrative of the Old English epic of *Beowulf*" (p. 136). Accepting Panzer's much-disputed "master pattern"—"whether or not it fits *Beowulf*"—Carpenter applies it to the *Odyssey*, eliciting fifteen points of resemblance, some not very significant, some highly original, such as the explanation given by Photius of the name *Οἶτις* by the bear's ears of the "Bear-Son"; even the Underworld visit of Odysseus "fits uncomfortably, even illogically into place," with "gaping seams in the composition" which are obvious enough. "Are such stories really old?" Against "the one supreme unlikelihood" that the Bear-Son story was current in pre-classical Greece, Carpenter has only the general consideration that it is the perennial tragedy of "death in the midst of life" that gives vitality to such a myth, and to the rituals which illustrate it. No doubt the conditions for a Bear-Son story were present in early Greece, as elsewhere. But what has this to do with a Thracian inroad into Greece? And why this particular story?

Another wide-spread tale is that of the *Man Who Disappeared*. Herodotus tells of Aristaeas; Hittite archives, of Telebinu (p. 160); the town clerk of Lucerne in 1572, of Hans Buochmann. In the *Odyssey* Carpenter finds another such, "if we excise . . . all that is borrowed from the heroic happenings of the Tale of Troy," the saga-element, as in the *Iliad*. Beyond this remnant of folk tale he is left with "a final residue of pure fiction, the poet's own formative contribution to his poem," such as the minor characters, Penelope and (as Woodhouse indicated) Telemachus; though surely, these too have their independent origin in folk tale. He does not discuss the question,

recently revived by Lord Rennell and Mr. Heurtley, *why* the story was located on the west coast of Greece, except to note the "sacred sheep of the sun" in Herodotus (IX, 93) and the geographers' Cocytus river. He plays with the notion that the home of Odysseus was Corfu, not Ithaca, but abides by the tradition, and does not worry over Dörpfeld's Leucas at all.

With this incorporation of folk tales in a framework of fiction—but are either the Wanderings or the Return "pure fiction"?—is contrasted the "carefully humanized drama" of the *Iliad* (p. 170): exceptions are the stories of Phoenix and of Bellerophon. But in the *σήμερα λυγρό* (pp. 173-4, but see p. 15) Carpenter now sees an Ionian allusion to letter-writing, in a "literate environment" contemporary with the Cimmerian raids (676-646 B. C.), with which is also identified Priam's allusion to "Amazons" in *Iliad*, III. Note that this allusion to Priam's young days would date the aged speaker two generations later, about 616 B. C., a little late even for an "Ionian Homer." Moreover, contrasts between the outlook of *Iliad* and of *Odyssey* are used to date the latter fifty years after the former, i. e. about 576 B. C. (p. 181) and to commend the view that the authors were distinct but single, masters of fiction in different modes, with a background mainly of saga in the earlier poem, of folk tale in the later.

This is Carpenter's "final verdict," and the hypothesis on which his whole exploration of the pre-Ionian past is based. But it must be noted that it leaves unsolved the riddle hitherto regarded as a central Homeric problem, of the transmission of the prehistoric materials into the "Ionian world." Fortunately, his valuable criticism of those materials and of their contributions to the Poems, and even his rather speculative illustrations of them, are not dependent for validity upon his extreme view of the "time and place of Homer."

Dr. Carpenter writes easily, as is his wont. His book is full of happy phrase, and vigorous comment, provocative and stimulating. It needs, and deserves, some revision; but it must have been as good fun to write as it is to read.

JOHN L. MYRES.

Homeri Odyssea. Recognovit P. VON DER MÜHL. Basle, Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1946. (*Editiones Helveticae*, Series Graeca 4.)

This edition of the *Odyssey* is far more interesting and important than its modest format might lead one to expect. Its editor, a pupil of Eduard Schwartz and Jacob Wackernagel—and justly proud of the fact—is a scholar of distinction. Thirty years ago Wackernagel could pay the highest tribute to his views about metrics;¹ and recently he has contributed to Pauly-Wissowa² an article "Die Dichter der Odyssee" which obviously deserves the most careful study.³ The present edition testifies repeatedly to his deep and

¹ *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*, p. 162.

² Suppl. VII, cols. 696 ff. (1940).

³ But a single copy has reached Princeton, and is kept in a place not easily accessible for me. Hence the indefiniteness of my remark.

broad knowledge of the Homeric language; and while so doing shows how much Homeric studies can profit from the progress of linguistics and the papyrus discoveries of the last half-century. His procedure in matters of text-criticism seems, however, to be open at times to question.

On p. vii we are told: "eas formas, quae grammaticorum regulis respondent, tum tantum dedi, cum traditione quadam inniti potui." Precedent for this rule can be found in an edition justly ranked as one of the greatest—Leaf's *Iliad*, I, p. xxv. How strictly Leaf applied the principle and how he was hampered by it may be seen from his reading Πανθόου in O 522—"both the metre and epic use require" this—but Πάνθον, Πάνθω in P 9, 23, 40, 59. In P there is no variant; in O one 15th century manuscript reads Πανθόου—probably a mere accident. Our editor does not adhere so rigorously to the principle. For instance in τ 538 he reads ἀγκυλοχῆλης, though there is no variant; in χ 302 ἀγκυλοχῆλαι, with some support from the manuscripts taken as sufficient warrant for both passages. Whether -χηλ- (not -χειλ-) is read by U² (Ludwich), or by "pauci," matters little; in either case it is a late bit of itacism.⁴ Support that is even more remote will serve: ν 293 ἀαρ': ἀτ' Ω, sed in *Iliade* vestigia formae non contr. extant. Sometimes an ancient grammarian will be sufficient: in ε 470 κλειτύν with Herodian: κλιτύν Ω; or the indirect tradition: α 241, δ 727, ξ 371, ν 77 ἀνιρέψαντο, cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 990: ἀνιρέψαντο Ω. Is it the total lack of support that stops him from reading Ἀρέπναι in these passages?

Leaf (*loc. cit.*): "endured ἔως [also τέως] as a trochee rather than go to pure conjecture and write εἶος or ῥος." Our editor may have thought that he was free from that dilemma; if so, he was probably unduly influenced by Meister, *Hom. Kunstspr.*, p. 157. In eleven passages where the metre requires a trochee he writes εἶος; also in eight other passages in which a following consonant conceals the quantity of the final syllable, and in the same circumstances he writes τεῖος three times. Furthermore he follows emendations of Nauck or of Lachmann where the manuscripts treat these words as if they were monosyllables. Thus he writes εἶος ε 386, ρ 358, τ 530; τεῖος κ 348, ο 231, π 370, ω 162, though the consequent changes of the context are unattested. I agree that emendation is needed,⁵ and would follow Nauck also at β 148, ε 123. Iambic ἔως β 78, τέως σ 190 are wisely allowed to stand: problems of Higher Criticism may be involved.

Now on what tradition can εἶος and τεῖος—preferred to Nauck's ῥος, τῆος—rest? Meister (*loc. cit.*) starts ῥος, τῆος, and τεῖος, but not εἶος. The last form is excepted, apparently because, though it never occurs in the manuscripts,⁶ it turns up at Υ 41 in *P. Fayoum*, 160 (1/2 p.).⁷ As Meister cites no other instance, I cannot under-

⁴ Contrasting Leaf's note on ἀγκυλοχῆλης II 428 with Bechtel, *Lewilogus*, p. 7 will bring out sharply one instance of progress.

⁵ Chartraine, *Gram. Hom.*, p. 12 is of the opposite opinion.

⁶ This was stated explicitly by La Roche, *Hom. Untersuch.*, I, p. 233. Leaf knew no example, nor is one given by Ludwich at any of the Odyssean passages.

⁷ No. 243 in Collart's list, *Introduction à l'Iliade* (1942), pp. 39-57. It is the only papyrus (except Σ) that contains this line.

stand his speaking of papyri in the plural. At all events he points out (p. 166) that the evidence is insufficient to establish the form,⁸ because of the frequent interchange of ω and o in the papyri.

Whether applied laxly or rigorously the rule does not commend itself to me. I agree on the contrary with Pasquali (*Storia della traduzione e critica del testo*, p. 245): "Qual mai editore si fermerrebbe per altri classici alla *recensio* ricusando d'inserire nel testo congetture evidenti?"

Both Leaf and our editor believe that there is a way out through the bottom of the page. Von der Mühl says: "ne verum taceretur, in apparatu saepe annotavi, quae integrae Homericæ dictionis essent." Leaf says that "in many cases" the readings given in the text are "described in the notes as clearly wrong." There is, however, a difference. Von der Mühl's notes are in his critical apparatus, Leaf's in his exegetical commentary, and it is only in the latter place that such annotations belong.

Our editor continues: "sic et cautioribus et audacioribus una satisfacere studui." That shows, in my opinion, a serious misapprehension. The question is not one of boldness or timidity; but of determining just what the text is to represent. The poets used ἦος; the Athenian editor, through whom alone the poem has reached us, wrote ἡEOC; the μεταγραψάμενοι made of this probably εἶος; the Vulgate had εἶος / εἴος. One has no right to speak of "sanas illas atque bonas ἦος τῆος," unless he intends to present the poets' text; any form is "right" for one period, and "wrong" for another. An editor must make up his mind as to what his text is to be.

Leaf chose as his target (I, p. xxiii): "the Attic text as transliterated into the new alphabet from the official Athenian original." What I miss most in this edition—and it could be said of others—is a similar selection of some one target.

The results of such indecision can be seen most clearly in the bracketing of lines. Speaking by and large⁹ the manuscripts of the *Odyssey* contain with substantial unanimity nearly¹⁰ 12,000 lines. There are also about 215 lines that are found only in some of the manuscripts. Of these about 140 lines got into Wolf's edition—an accident dependent partly on his eclecticism, partly on just which manuscripts he knew. Until the papyri were discovered this seemed a matter of importance. But when it is noticed that these and only these¹¹ extra lines do not appear in papyri written after ca. 150 B. C., the situation appears in a new light. All the extra lines are intruders in the Vulgate, and in an edition of the Vulgate all must be treated alike.¹² All must stand somewhere outside the text—

⁸ "Empfohlen, aber nicht sicher beglaubigt."

⁹ I can see no gain from reiterating what has long been available. The literature of the question is given in my *The Athetized Lines of the Iliad* (Special Publication of the Linguistic Society of America [Baltimore, 1944]), pp. 10-11.

¹⁰ I give only round numbers, because I am aware of the existence of doubtful cases.

¹¹ Again speaking by and large.

¹² The difference in the numbers to be assigned to them— β 191 but β 107a—is sufficient recognition of Wolf's treatment.

at the bottom of the page or in an appendix—with a statement of their attestation. No other line must be touched, unless one is trying to go behind the Vulgate, say to the text of the sixth century B. C. or earlier. To put it briefly, this is no place for eclecticism; it is purely a problem of recension.

Now our editor brackets only something less than 70% of the lines read by Wolf, and includes in his apparatus only about 50% of those that Wolf did not print. I mention in particular the lines of this class bracketed by him, but not noticed by me. For ρ 402 he is clearly right; perhaps also for χ 174, though the temptation to haplography is strong; but the misplacement of δ 458 in manuscripts is more (?) than balanced by Heraclitus' quotation. He should have bracketed also ι 55, because of the evidence adduced very cleverly by Miss McCarthy, *Class. Phil.*, XXVII (1932), p. 154.

It was pointed out in my *External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 13-14, 205-216, that some lines against which we can bring no evidence from the manuscripts must nevertheless have been absent from the Vulgate. It is probable that γ [131] falls in this class.¹³ Two other passages, θ 142, κ 243, not read by Aristarchus, are left unbracketed, and I cannot regard the notes as containing the best possible solutions.

The editor refuses to bracket φ 308, saying: "sed non solus hic vs. ab ultimo poeta ortus est." The remark is probably true, but irrelevant. The manuscripts and a papyrus unite to show that the line was not in the Vulgate; how the Vulgate compares with the text of the last poet is another question that should be held separate.

Some lines are bracketed, though they are well attested for the Vulgate. An editor of the Vulgate should leave them alone; the editor of an earlier form of text should mark them and many others. The list of those von der Mühl brackets is not long: δ 553, ε 84, π 104 because athetized¹⁴ by the Alexandrians (but in contrast the interpolations of the Vulgate are not known to the Alexandrians); κ 75 because omitted in a papyrus (but a pre-Vulgate papyrus); λ 428, 454-6, ο 74 because known not to have been in various pre-Vulgate texts (all treated in my *External Evidence*); finally ψ 157-62 as a *rhapsodorum additamentum*, an observation certainly of good taste and most probably correct.

There seems to be room still for a critical edition of the *Odyssey* avowedly limited to a reconstruction of the Vulgate, even if one does not give full credence to Molhuysen's assertion:¹⁵ "At talia menda inveni ut libere dicere audeam, Ludwichium non ea esse in legendis libris manuscriptis peritia ut scriptorem ad fidem codicum edere possit." I shall not see it; but I hope it will be written, and that von der Mühl will write an exegetical commentary on its language.

GEORGE M. BOLLING.

¹³ That it is interpolated is practically certain on grounds of intrinsic probability, but there is no evidence as to when the interpolation was made.

¹⁴ I hope someone will write on the athetized lines of the *Odyssey*. Because of the different quality and quantity of the scholia the results may not parallel precisely those obtained for the *Iliad*.

¹⁵ *De tribus Homeri Odysseae codicibus antiquissimis* (1896), p. 30.

Pindari Epinicia edidit ALEXANDER TURYN. New York, Herald Square Press, 1944. Pp. xvi + 224. (*Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, Polish Institute Series, no. 5.)

It may not be inappropriate, before beginning the review proper, to do some thinking about critical editions in general. When I was young our noses were sometimes rather more in the critical apparatus than in the text of our author, and the critical edition was still considered the masterpiece of classical scholarship. Today Gilbert Norwood, in his impressive book on Pindar, urges us to "resent it as an outrage if we open a copy of Theocritus only to find a horrible apparatus criticus lurking at the bottom of the page" and maintains, in his review of the present edition of Pindar (*Class. Phil.*, XLI [1946], pp. 172 ff.), that "the age of textual criticism—at least as regards Greek poetry—has now ended." Whether one agrees with the first point is a question of taste and of practice. (I, for my part, should not attempt to discuss the art of an Aeschylean chorus or the meaning of a difficult passage in the *Philebus* without an accurate textual basis for my aesthetic or philosophic judgment.) The exaggeration of Norwood's second statement is apparent if, for example, one adds in the margin of the Oxford *Bucolici Graeci* the new readings from the papyri of Theocritus' *Adoniazousae*. To be sure, I am inclined to agree with Norwood as concerns Pindar: in Pindar's case it indeed seems as if the age of textual criticism has practically come to an end. But not simply "because of the diligence and skill shown by scholars for more than three centuries." The decisive fact was that Boeckh and later Tycho Mommsen singled out the interpolated manuscripts and concentrated on the pure ones. For the quality of the Pindaric text handed down in the uninterpolated tradition is astonishingly good, whereas the tradition of Aeschylus, for example, is relatively poor. May it suffice to gather the "emendations" in Pindar's *Olymp.* VI:

ἀγῆσία	codd.:	Ἀγῆσία	Schroeder
δύσερις	codd.:	δύσηρις	quidam Byzantinus
φιλόνηκος	codd.:	φιλόνηκος	Bergk
σάμερον ἐλθεῖν	codd.:	σάμερον <μ> ἐλθεῖν	Boeckh
μειχθεῖσα	codd.:	μειχθεῖσα	Schroeder
παῖδα ἰοπλόκαμον	codd.:	παῖδ' ἰόπλοκον	Bergk
εἰλείθνια	codd.:	εἰλείθνια	quidam Byzantinus
γεγεν(ν)αμένον	codd.:	γεγενημένον	Ahrens
ἀλλ' ἐγκέκρυπτο	codd.:	ἀλλ' ἐν / κέκρυπτο	Boeckh
		ἀλλὰ κέκρυπτο	Hermann
		fort. ἀλλ' ἦν / κέκρυπτο	Turyn.

And thus it continues. In other words, almost all that philology in the last centuries has achieved in Pindar as far as emendation is concerned has been—with some remarkable exceptions, of course—the dusting off of many tiny specks. What future generations can do in the same direction must be negligible. Even new papyri or "the appearance of someone with downright genius for emendation" (Norwood) cannot alter the basic fact that in the *Epinicia* there is very little to emend because, first, good manuscripts reached Alexandria, secondly, Aristophanes of Byzantium and the other philolo-

gists fulfilled their task admirably, and, finally, the later centuries kept up this standard. There is in the *Epinicia* one famous interpolation (*Olymp.* II, 28-9), and there are *cruces*—how could it be otherwise in a difficult author? But is it not significant that critical notes which are quite appropriate in Aeschylus, such as: *intercidit versus—trimeter insanabilis admixto scholio—foede corrupta omnia nec est ubi tute consistas—huc revocavi, alii aliter disponunt—deest verbum finitum*—etc., would be unthinkable in Pindar? Is it not equally impressive that even in the *Isthmians* and *Nemeans*, where the number of available uninterpolated manuscripts shrinks to two and in some places to one, things do not seem to be basically different? A glance at Aeschylus' *Suppliants* would show the contrast.

This is the reason why Turyn's painstaking work on the manuscripts has yielded a text which does not really differ from Bowra's or Schroeder's or Mommsen's or even Boeckh's. Of Turyn's new readings Paul Maas, in his review in *C. R.*, 1946, p. 24, recommends one κ' instead of $\kappa\epsilon\nu$, one $\xi\mu\mu\epsilon\nu$ instead of $\xi\mu\epsilon\nu$, one $\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ instead of $\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$, in short, minutiae. Norwood's review (*loc. cit.*) contains the statement that, "apart from unimportant alterations of punctuation and spelling, his emendations number eight." To the present reviewer a similar search has seemed superfluous. He has not even thoroughly undertaken the task of checking the results of Turyn's studies on the manuscripts and their affiliation, the painstaking work of many years, published previously in Polish and German periodicals and presented in concentrated form in the *Prolegomena* of the present edition. "A new edition of Pindar's *Epinicia* is unnecessary," was Wilamowitz' well-considered judgment (*Pindaros*, p. 10). All the same, let us be grateful that Turyn has undertaken the work and accomplished it in a masterly manner. Yet more labor in this line would hardly be worth while. The task in Pindar's *Epinicia*, as regards the constitution of the text and the critical apparatus, and also, to a high degree, the purely metrical schematization, is indeed complete.

The tradition of the *Epinicia* is of such excellence that it should be followed still more closely than Turyn sometimes does, even in matters of detail. To give a few small examples from *Olymp.* I: line 3, Pindar wrote ΓΑΡΥΕΝ. This lettering may be interpreted as γαρύεν or as γαρύειν, but γαρύεν is probably not only what Pindar wrote but also what he pronounced (cf. Schroeder, *Ed. maior*, p. 39). Line 5, μηκέτ' ἀελίου the ancient tradition, μηκέθ' ἀλίου the Byzantines. There is no reason to attribute the θ to Pindar's original (cf. Schroeder, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15 ff.); he probably taught his chorus to sing the *tenuis*, not the *aspirata*, and I should print μηκέτ' ἀελίου as Mommsen does, against Schroeder, Bowra, Turyn. Is it really advisable to replace προσέμιξε by προσέμειξε ("corr." Schroeder), or is the spelling with $\epsilon\iota$ rather a modern fad, and can it really be maintained that Pindar had his chorus sing the diphthong and not the short iota, the syllable lengthened through the double consonant? But these are, of course, trifles. It is more than a trifle, however, that in line 73 Moschopoulos' figment Εὐτρίαιναν instead of the powerful Εὐρυτρίαναν still holds the field. (Cf., but with due criticism, Schroeder, *Ed. maior*, *Proleg.* II, § 55.)

To add a few more critical remarks, the technique of the Apparatus criticus is not without blemish.

<i>Olymp.</i> I,	3	γαρύειν	codd.:	γαρύειν	Christ
	23	προσέμειξε	codd.:	προσέμειξε	corr. Schroeder
	63	οἷς <ν>ιν	Bergk:	οἷσιν	codd.
	71	ἐγγὺς	Mommsen:	ἐγγὺς δ'	codd.

These are four different ways to express the same fact. Consistency would demand:

3	γαρύειν	Christ:	γαρύειν	codd.
23	προσέμειξε	Schroeder:	προσέμειξε	codd.
63	οἷς νιν	Bergk:	οἷσιν	codd.
71	ἐγγὺς	Mommsen:	ἐγγὺς δ'	codd.

or the reverse. A critical apparatus is, in some measure, a thing of pedants: let us at least be consistent in our necessary pendency.

The apparatus criticus, moreover, perpetuates an abundance of errors of individual scribes. It may be difficult to draw boundary lines between the important, the not quite unimportant, and the negligible. Yet it is clear that in *Olymp.* I such readings as ἡμέρα U (instead of ἀμέρα), ἐρήμης Hⁱ (instead of ἐρήμας), ἐστίαν ἀνθεμυστίον U (with the erroneously doubled αν), μουσικῆς U (instead of μουσικᾶς), φίλ' ἄνδρες Athenaeus (instead of φίλαν ἄνδρες of the MSS), and scores of others have no importance whatsoever and will have to be omitted in the final critical edition of Pindar—even in an *Editio maior*—because they merely obliterate the basic facts of the tradition.

I hope I may not be prejudiced in insisting that one misses in a complete apparatus to Pindar's *Epinicia* any mention that we may possess the notes of an antique musical composition for the beginning of *Pythian* I and, if so, in all likelihood Pindar's composition. The notes, then, are an integral part of the text.

The metrical analyses fulfill a need, and the technical names of the metres are helpful. But neither the analyses nor the nomenclature can be taken as more than initial clarification. Turyn schematizes the beginning of the short and simple (non-Pindaric) *Olymp.* V in the following manner:

----- - - - - - Maecen(as) chor(iambus)
do(chmius).

Yet, if the first six syllables belong together and are identical with the first half of the Asclepiadeus, the member *Maecenas atavis*, it is only consistent to comprehend the next six syllables as the second half of the same Asclepiadeus, the member *edite regibus* (which Turyn and other metricians call a dochmius). Thus the first line

Ὑψηλᾶν ἀρετᾶν καὶ στεφάνων ἄωτον γλυκύν

is the Asclepiadeus + - - -, the last creticus echoing, as it were, the end of the Asclepiadeus. Moreover, what is the reason for interpreting in two different ways the six syllables which four times in this short poem conclude a line, twice as *ithyph(allicus)* - - - - - and twice as *cr(eticus) + ba(ccheus)* - - - - -? There is no reason, and Schroeder, in his *Editio maior* saw the facts clearly.

But this is not the place to venture on the *immensum aequor* of Greek lyric metrics.

Turyn's edition of Pindar's *Epinicia*, which stands as a monument of sincere devotion to a great poet, bears the marks of the times. It is uncertain whether the Polish compositors who at Cracow set the type have survived the deluge. Their work has. Turyn brought one copy of the printed sheets to this country and had it reproduced in photolithography. This is the present volume. May Turyn's contemplated edition of Pindar's precious fragments follow in a not too distant future.

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ARTHUR STEIN. *Die Legaten von Moesien*. Budapest, Institut für Münzkunde und Archäologie der P. Pázmány-Universität, 1940. Pp. 139. (*Dissertationes Pannonicae*, Ser. I, No. 11.)

With a compliment to S. E. Stout, *The Governors of Moesia* (Dissertation, Princeton, 1911), A. Stein, the great master of Roman prosopography and author of *Römische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia* (Sarajevo, 1920), has now presented a masterly study of the officials of Moesia, which also was largely Thracian territory before its organization as a province in the time of Tiberius. So much new information from inscriptions and from recent studies in Roman military history had accumulated that a fresh survey and collection of evidence were badly needed, and the need has been filled in an exemplary manner such as one would expect from the distinguished author. It is of course inevitable that details of the interpretation present difficulties.

In the chapter on the prehistory of the province Stein refers to the inscription at Callatis, *I. G. R.*, I, 654, dedicated $\Pi\omicron\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\ \omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\iota\kappa[\acute{\iota}\omega$ ----- $\acute{\upsilon}]\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\tilde{\omega}\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho[\omega\nu\acute{\iota}]$. E. Bormann, *A. E. M.*, XIX (1896), p. 108, proposed the extraordinary word $[\acute{\upsilon}]\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ on the basis of Tocilescu's reading. What was the command? Since Π is an easy misreading for TP and A for H , the reviewer weighed the possibility of restoring some version of the formula $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon\nu\tau\tilde{\eta}\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega]\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\gamma\omega$. Upon the reviewer's request that the possibility of reading $[\Sigma]\text{TPATH}\Gamma\Omega$ at the beginning of line 3 be tested against the stone, Professor Theophil Sauciuc-Săveanu, the new director of the Muzeul National de Antichitati, where the stone is deposited (Lapidarium, No. 413), kindly reported that the first letter can be read and is sigma, that the supposed Π actually is TP , but that the second alpha is not an eta. The disturbing word $[\acute{\upsilon}]\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$, accordingly, which has made its way even into the Greek-English Lexicon, disappears. The word, then, must be $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\tilde{\omega}$ or $[\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota]\ \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$. Whether the form is a Doricism or an error either for $[\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota]\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\gamma\omega$ or for $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\tilde{\omega}$, the possibilities are clear. If $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\langle\eta\rangle\gamma\tilde{\omega}$, the word might be taken as indicating a proconsul on the analogy of *S. E. G.*, IX, 8, line 33 (Cyrene, 7/6 B. C.); it would be the proconsul of Macedonia. If $[\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota]\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\langle\eta\rangle\gamma\tilde{\omega}$, the word would indicate a legate.

Between these two possibilities the second is much more likely, because *ἀνθύπατος* was already the customary designation of a proconsul. The reader may compare the Greek inscription from Callatis with a Latin inscription from Amphipolis, the only other contemporary reference to the exact title of a Roman military commander who operated in Moesia before Moesia was organized as a Roman province:

A. E., 1936, 18 from Amphipolis	I. G. R., I, 654 from Callatis
Imp. Caesar	Ο δ[ῆμος]
Divi f. Aug.,	Ποπλίω Οὐνικί[ω ----- ἀντι]
L. Tario Ruf(o) pr(o)	στρατάγω τῷ πάτ[ρωνι -----]
pr.,	[-----]τῇ[-----]
5 leg(io) X Fret(ensis)	[vacat] vacat
pontem fecit	

The title of L. Tarius Rufus, to whose command the *legio X Fretensis* belonged, was *pro praetore*, as Groag, *P. I. R.*², II, p. 64 and Stein, p. 13, note 2, interpret it. (For the inscription as a whole see A. Stein, *Klio*, Beiheft XXXVII [1936], pp. 94-95). Also the title of P. Vinicius would seem to have been *pro praetore*, but the full restoration of the stone from Callatis cannot be made with certainty. It is very probable that line 1 was centered over the inscription and therefore can be used in an estimate of the lacunae in lines 2-4. Did line 1 read 'Ο δ[ῆμος] or 'Ο δ[ῆμος ὁ Καλλατιανῶν]? With the former restoration in line 1 the extent of the still unexplained lacuna in line 2 is reduced to about nine letters, for example Μάρκον νῖῶ, or, less likely, either *πρεσβευτᾶ* or *πρεσβευτῇ* without *καί*. With the longer restoration in line 1, the lacuna in line 2 might have read *πρεσβευτῇ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀντι* | *στρατάγω*. In line 4 traces remain of a formula such as *ἀρε*[τῇ[*ς ἐνεκα* or *εὐνοίας*] *τῇ[ς εἰς ἑαυτόν*.

Stein discusses also the command held in 6 A. D. by Caecina Severus, whom Dio, LV, 29, 3 describes as *ὁ τῆς πλησιοχώρου Μυσίας ἄρχων*. With Ritterling, Premerstein, and Syme, he believes that Severus, who cannot have been a governor of a province not yet created, was a *legatus Augusti pro praetore exercitus*.

The problem concerning all these early commanders has been more clearly formulated by R. Syme, *J. R. S.*, XXXV (1945), p. 109, as follows: "At what date was the army of the Balkans taken from the proconsul of Macedonia and put under the charge of an imperial legate?" The case of L. Tarius Rufus soon after 16 B. C. seems to the reviewer to be the earliest, because L. Tarius Rufus was not a proconsul, for even the letters *prc* could not be an abbreviation of *proconsul*. P. Vinicius and P. Silius (noted by Syme) must also have been *legati Augusti pro praetore exercitus*. P. Vinicius could hardly have been simultaneously proconsul and legate as Stein suggests.

When Moesia began paying taxes and formally entered the empire, it constituted part of the great Balkan command exercised by a legate to whose province belonged also Macedonia and Achaia. As a province with its own *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, Moesia was separated out of the provincial complex in 44 A. D., and its first governor in the new status was, according to Stein, Aulus Didius Gallus.

Vasile Pârvan, *Analele Academiei Române*, XXXVIII (1915-1916), *Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, p. 571, finding himself apparently with too many legates, has argued that Didius Gallus never had been governor of Moesia. Fewer legates than Pârvan thought seem to have been concentrated in this period, but the fact remains that we have no direct reference to Didius Gallus as governor of Moesia. Evidence one way or another might have been expected from the inscription at Olympia, for which I here present a text different from that in *I. L. S.* 970.

- A· Didius G[allus leg]atus [Ti·]
 Claudi· Caes[aris] Aug· Ger[mani]
 ei tr[i]umphal[ibus o]rname[ntis],
 [XV vir] s· f· pro· co[s· Asia]e et Sicilia[e]
 5 [.....]siae, pr[ae]fectu[s] equitat·
 [comes et legatus impe]ratoris· i[n]
 [Britannia]

The text should be based on Purgold's drawing published in *Röm. Mitt.*, VI (1891), p. 163, but Mommsen, the first editor, had even previously established the restoration of the crucial lines 1-3 and the identity of A. Didius Gallus with the man who led the Roman forces against Mithradates VII and installed Cotys as King of the Bosphorus or Crimean peninsula. A coin of Cotys from the year 45/46 A. D., and the reference in Tacitus, *Ann.*, XII, 15, as background for events of 49 establish a *terminus ante quem*: The expedition was under way in 46 A. D. at the latest.

The number of letters missing at the end of line 2, where spatial considerations obliged the stonecutter to break the word *Germani* | *ei*, establishes the maximum lacunae at the end of the other lines. Hence, all lacunae are measurable, and require supplements of the lengths indicated above. We know, for example, that the abbreviation *cos* cannot be accommodated at the end of line 3, and we can ignore as confusing the long restorations suggested by Domaszewski with a fine disregard of spatial limits.

In the first three lines the restorations (by Mommsen) have met with universal approval; and there is no room for anything more. In line 4 Mommsen restored *Africa*]e or *Asia*]e, but the latter seems to fit the space while the other does not. So far, suggestions of Mommsen may be retained in all lacunae of lines 1-4. Likewise Mommsen's restorations *pr[ae]fectu[s]* in 5 and *impe]ratoris* in 6 have met with approval everywhere.

As to the content of lines 6 and 7, however, Mommsen declared that he was at a loss. Very hesitantly he suggested the restoration *i[ussu] dedit*. Groag (*R.-E.*, V, 410) accepted this as one possibility, but he suggested as another the restoration [----- *comes impe]ratoris i[n* | -----]. An acephalus inscription which was subsequently found in the Agora excavations at Athens and appears to contain a later *cursus honorum* of A. Didius Gallus (*Hesperia*, X [1941], pp. 238-241), devotes a whole line to each honor listed, and the record of one honor reads [...[?]or^s...le]ga[to] i[n] Brittan[nia]. The supplements [*comes et legatus impe]ratoris i[n* | *Britannia*] at Olympia

and [comiti et le]ga[to i]n Brittan[nia] at Athens exactly fill the space available and support each other.

That leaves only one uncertainty, the five or six letters at the beginning of line 5. Mommsen, who connected Didius Gallus with the Didius who conducted the Crimean campaign, presumed that Didius Gallus must have conducted the campaign from the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula, hence from the province of Moesia and the vassal states under the protection of the legate of Moesia. Surely the *cursus honorum* contained the record of his command, and Mommsen accordingly restored the title at the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5, *leg. | pr. pr. Moe]siae*.

In *I. L. S.* 970, however, Dessau pointed out that the remaining letters could just as easily be read *A]siae*, which suggested a position as quaestor or legate of the province of Asia, i. e. lieutenant of the proconsul at some time long before the Crimean campaign.

Dessau, who believed that Gallus when he launched the campaign had indeed been legate of Moesia, suggested that in line 1 the entry *leg]atus* without any qualification meant the legate of the province where the inscription was erected. In Greek inscriptions of Achaia the proconsul is customarily called ἀνθύπατος without the addition Ἀχαιας; so Dessau's argument is a strong one. If correct, it would date the campaign and the recognition implied in the grant of *ornamenta triumphalia* to the year 44, because Achaia and Macedonia were reconstituted as separate provinces some time in 44 A. D. The inscription accordingly would have to be dated while Olympia still belonged to the territory administered by the legate of Moesia. This argument appealed to J. G. C. Anderson (*C. A. H.*, X, p. 753). It did not appeal to Groag, who omitted the name of Didius Gallus from the list of those who had governed Achaia as legates of Moesia (*Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, col. 30).

The real objection to Mommsen's attractive restoration *leg. | pr. pr. Moe]siae* is that it exceeds the available space. The abbreviation *leg* cannot be accommodated at the end of line 4.

But Dessau's alternates are equally unacceptable. Dessau did not say whether he intended *leg. | prov. A]siae* or *leg. pr. A]siae*. The first version may be discarded at once for the same reason as Mommsen's restoration; there is no room for the abbreviation *leg* at the end of line 4. The second version meets with an objection of another sort: in view of the unabbreviated or almost unabbreviated forms [*leg]atus*, *triumphal[ibus o]rname[ntis]*, *pr[ae]fectu[s] equitat[is]* and [*comes et legatus impe]ratoris*, it is hard to accept so complete an abbreviation as [*leg. pr. A]siae*. For this office one would expect at least *leg. provinc. Asiae*, which overflows the available space. Again the restoration [*q. prov. A]siae* does not conform with the unabbreviated style of this inscription.

We can approach it from another standpoint. Didius Gallus was detached from the emperor's staff in Britain to handle an emergency that had arisen in the East during the invasion of Britain. Didius Gallus hastened out to the Black Sea and assumed command of the nearest Roman troops and whatever extra levies he could arrange from the neighboring Roman vassals.

When an inscription at Pergamum (*Sitzb. München*, 1934, Heft 3, pp. 15 f.) relates that Trajan's officer Quadratus assumed special powers in an emergency and successfully exercised a wider military command, it uses the phrase *στρατηλάτης γενόμενος*, which means "as *dux*."

With a similar phrase a document of 170 A.D., *C. I. L.*, VIII, 20994 at Caesarea in Mauretania honors a man who during a war successfully exercised an emergency command: *Sex. Cornelio Sex. f. Pal. Clementi co(n)s(ulari) et duci trium Daciarum*. The same word *dux* is applied to wartime commanders in *I. L. S.* 1354 (at Italica Baetica from the time of Marcus Aurelius) and in *I. L. S.* 1140 (at Tarraco from the Severan period). Just as Cornelius Clemens was epigraphically designated *dux trium Daciarum*, and, in *I. L. S.* 1140, Claudius Candidus in *Hispania Citeriore dux terra marique adversus rebelles . . . , item Asiae, item Noricae, dux exercitus Illyrici expeditione Asiana, item Parthica, item Gallica*, all at a time before the common expression *dux* became the technical term for the holder of a regular office, so Didius Gallus can have been hailed at Olympia as [*dux Moe*]siae (cf. the only literary allusion to his command, Tacitus, *Ann.*, XII, 15: *At Mithridates Bosporanus amissis opibus vagus, postquam Didium ducem Romanum roburque exercitus abisse cognoverat, . . .*). Seeck (*R.-E.*, V, 1869) remarks that the term *dux* in the case of a man with an official title of command indicates a military victory with more than the province's ordinary garrison.

Obviously Didius Gallus had no time for the routine administration even of Moesia. During his brief command, for which he received merely leave of absence from other duties, he was completely absorbed by military affairs outside the province. Of course the campaign had to be based on Moesia, but his connection with the province was a position as *legatus Augusti pro praetore exercitus Moesiaci* rather than as *legatus Augusti pro praetore Moesiae*, even if the latter title already existed officially.

The first three lines of the inscription at Olympia convey that it honors, on the occasion of his *ornamenta triumphalia*, A. Didius Gallus legate of the emperor Claudius. The *cursus honorum* begins in line 4. At the head of the list stands the priesthood, *XV vir s(acris) f(aciundis)*. Then follow his proconsulships in descending order. Then follow his purely military commands in descending order.

Before the unraveling of lines 6 and 7 it was possible to think, as Mommsen did, that some minor early office was recorded in the entry *pr[ae]fectu[s] equitat(us)*, but now it appears for still another reason that Domaszewski, *Röm. Mitt.*, VI (1891), pp. 163-167, was right in arguing that Gallus had been the commander of the cavalry during the invasion of Britain. Didius Gallus, of course, had held minor offices, but no minor offices are recorded in the list at Olympia. Also the offices associated with the city of Rome are unrecorded. The inscription, omitting these, effectively presents the services of the man in the public life of the empire itself, 1) as a religious official, 2) in the sphere of administration, 3) on the battlefield.

The possibility of restoring [*dux Moe*]siae in line 5 robs of special significance the silence in lines 1-3, where, Dessau thought, the

absence of the province's name suggested the governorship of the province in which the inscription was erected. The war was already over, and, though technically still a legate, Didius Gallus no longer held any command.

On page 114 Stein dates L. Titinius Clodianus, procurator of Lower Moesia, to ca. 210 A.D. on the basis of the reading *proc. Aug[g.] n[n.]* in line 6, of *Année Épigraphique*, 1912, No. 132 (from Cuicul), a text which has recently benefited through discovery of an early copy (E. Albertini, *Mélanges en hommage à la mémoire de Fr. Martroye* [Paris, 1941], pp. 107-109 = *Année Épigraphique*, 1941, No. 175). The item in line 6 now reads *partes praes(idis) agenti [pr]ov(inciae) Numidiae*, and the supposed reference to the co-emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla disappears.

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ARTHUR STEIN. Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien. Budapest, ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Pietro Pázmány nominatae, 1944. Pp. 131. (*Dissertationes Pannonicae*, Ser. I, No. 12.)

Having already given the profession standard works on the officials of Thrace and Moesia, Arthur Stein contributes in this fascicle another masterly study of a Balkan province, and by its publication Andreas Alföldi, editor of the *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, has increased still further the reputation of the brilliant series in which this study appears.

As we know from an inscription discovered fifteen years ago in the American excavations at Corinth, the conquest of Dacia was not gradual but completed in the Second Dacian War. From 106 to 108 A.D. consular legates ruled an undivided province. Because of the imminent war with the Iazyges and Roxolani Julius Quadratus Bassus, whom Stein identifies with the consul suffectus of 105 but distinguishes both from C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus and from the proconsul of Bithynia Julius Bassus, was sent to Dacia to command an army. In 118 (or 117) Quadratus Bassus met his death, and the new emperor Hadrian, whose position had not yet been consolidated, entrusted the command to his equestrian friend Q. Marcius Turbo, who soon after became pretorian prefect. This unusual appointment and indeed the figure of Q. Marcius Turbo became somewhat more distinct in 1945.

L. Leschi, in "La carrière de Q. Marcius Turbo," *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1945, pp. 144-162, has now published a *cursus honorum* from Cherchel. Checked against Leschi's facsimile, it would seem to read somewhat as follows:

T. Fl. T. fil. Palatin. [Prisco Gallo]nio Frontoni Q. M[ar]cio Turboni pr[ae]f. praet., pr[oe]c. pro leg. provinc[iae] Mauretan. Caes. [et Ting., praef. A]leg. et praef. prov. Dac[iae] inferioris, pro[]¹², proc. XX heredi[tat.]
5 provinciae [Syriae Palaest]inae, proc. ad cen[sus].

The restorations are those of Leschi with a slight alteration of the supplement *Caes[. et Tingit.* (line 3), which seemed crowded, especially when reckoned with dots after the abbreviations. Among other things the first praenomen, nomen, and filiation are new. Leschi, furthermore, was able to identify as the future pretorian prefect the T. Flavius Priscus Gallonius Fronto Marcius Turbo *proc. Aug. (Mauretaniae Caesariensis)* in an inscription at Rapidum. Leschi was unwilling to equate the office recorded at Rapidum with the office recorded in lines 2-3 of the Cherchel *cursus*, and, arguing that Marcius Turbo was financial procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis just after the suppression of the Jewish revolt in the Cyrenaica and before the command in Dacia and that he returned again to Mauretania as *procurator pro legato* after the Dacian command, Leschi restored the phrase *pro[c. prov. Maur. Caes.]* in the Cherchel *cursus*, line 4. But since the *Vita Hadriani* 4-6 represents the military command in Mauretania as following immediately upon the campaign in Egypt and the Cyrenaica and preceding the command in Dacia, it seems preferable to conclude that Marcius Turbo had only one term in Mauretania: *post Mauretanium praefecturae infulis ornatum Pannoniae Daciaeque ad tempus praefecit*. The Cherchel *cursus*, drawn up in the descending order of importance rather than in inverse chronological order, places the Mauretanian command above the Dacian because the Dacian command during hasty peace negotiations seemed less important than a campaign which not only required fighting but relieved those who set up the inscription of a real menace very near home. Line 4 may have contained a reference to the lesser command in Egypt and the Cyrenaica, by which also the man achieved wide fame. Nothing at Cherchel is said about Pannonia, so the above cited reference in the *Vita Hadriani*, 6, 7, probably refers to the command of legionary troops which Quadratus Bassus, whose place Marcius Turbo temporarily filled, had received for the war from the Pannonian garrison.

Of particular interest is the exact title of his command in Dacia, *praef. A[eg. et praef. prov. Dac[iae] inferioris*, as Leschi convincingly restored it. The above cited reference *praefecturae infulis ornatum* is further clarified in the *Vita Hadriani* 7, 3: *titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae quo plus auctoritatis haberet*. Stein's conjecture (p. 17) that the division of Dacia into an upper and lower province may have occurred under Marcius Turbo finds confirmation in the Cherchel *cursus*, which, as Leschi said, constitutes our earliest evidence for the division of the province, where from 119 until 158 A. D. a legate of praetorian rank governed Upper Dacia while a presidial procurator under the legate's general supervision governed Lower Dacia. The Three Dacias came into being in 158 A. D., and the consular legate of the Three Dacias appears from 167 A. D.

Two points in Stein's discussion (p. 15) of Marcius Turbo's earlier career seem erroneous in view of the new evidence. In 113 Marcius Turbo was scarcely prefect of an Italian fleet but probably, as Passerini (*Le Coorti Pretorie* [Rome, 1939], p. 298) and Leschi suggest, in command of ships detached from that fleet for service in connection with the military activity in the East. The prefecture of an Italian fleet was too high an office for a man who in 107 was still a centurion, to reach by 113 A. D., and it is not mentioned

in the Cherchel *cursus*, which had room for two regional civil procuratorships. The second point is the command held by Marcus Turbo when Trajan sent him to Egypt and the Cyrenaica with infantry, cavalry, and naval units. Stein suggested that he went as prefect of Egypt. The *Vita Hadriani* gives the impression that Marcus Turbo received the latter title only when he went to Dacia, and the conjunction *et* in the Cherchel *cursus* bears out this impression. If line 4 did contain the record of his Cyrenaic assignment, it was either a procuratorship or a vice-command of some sort.

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HARTVIG FRISCH. *Cicero's Fight for the Republic. The Historical Background of the Philippics.* København, Gyldendal, 1946. Pp. 311; 9 pls. Kr. 25.00. (*Humanitas*, I.)

The author of this book is a Danish politician as well as a professor of Classical Philology, and he has written books on subjects which range from the Constitution of the Athenians to the most modern problems of Europe. It is natural therefore to compare Frisch's book with Haskell's.¹ Frisch has a much better control of the bibliography, plus a thorough knowledge of the languages, both ancient and modern. There is a world of difference in approach, since Frisch's study is predominantly political in the European manner, while Haskell, ever alert to sociological and economic considerations,² gives ample evidence of a lifetime of journalistic experience in close contact with the rough-and-tumble of American politics on every level, perhaps the best training for a student of the conflicting idealism and corruption of the late Roman Republic. Frisch was sent as a delegate of the Rigsdag to the San Francisco Conference in 1945; it is a source of comfort to find someone in politics who comprehends that intelligence and retrospect may be as important as the physical sciences in solving the world's problems.

This book is the first in a series called *Humanitas*, to be composed of translations of classical studies from the Danish which will appear at irregular intervals. The book is handsomely published on heavy paper whose quality we can envy, in clear type, with good plates of portrait busts, appropriate coins, etc. The book, in a paper binding, is too expensive, and it is to be hoped that the publishers will find some way of reducing the price of later volumes in the series. While it is pleasant not to have to struggle with the Danish, the foreign origin of the translation, as will appear in the passages quoted below, sometimes betrays itself in sentence structure or choice of words, and the occasional errors which escaped the proofreaders are distracting.

No new or startling thesis is propounded in this book. Frisch admits that another book to appear in the series will be of more

¹ H. J. Haskell, *This Was Cicero; Modern Politics in a Roman Toga* (New York, 1942).

² As in his *The New Deal in Old Rome* (New York, 1947).

general significance,³ but he goes on to say (p. 7): "Yet I have not wished to keep back the results which in the meantime I have obtained, the reason being that my work aims exclusively at the political aspect of Cicero's activity within the last two years of his life, for which period I as far as possible try to set forth the historical raw material before the reader for his verdict. Therefore I have also made up my mind to add the whole evidence and the discussion with previous scholars in notes at the foot of the text, by which the reader will himself be able to value the correctness of the hypotheses advanced. Still I have at the same time endeavoured to present the contents as a connected account that may be read independently of the footnotes." Not every passage in the body of the text, however, is translated, and the quotations from German authorities are regularly left in the original language; the passages cited in the footnotes are usually left in the original Latin, Greek, French, German, or Italian, although the quotations from Danish studies are carefully put into English.

While Frisch rejects the views of the extreme detractors of Cicero like Drumann and Mommsen, one also misses in his book the sensitive subtlety and perceptive acuteness which have characterized the recent British writings on Roman history, the apparently innate comprehension of the hidden processes of popular government. It is a shock to read blunt statements such as that the principate was a "disguised monarchy" (p. 12), or to find the pervasive influence of force detailed in this paragraph (p. 21): "In a nobility-republic of this kind, in which friendships and family interests played the principal part in politics, we therefore cannot find anything of a 'political conviction,' i.e. a political opinion supported on a judgment of facts. Therefore it is interesting how the young generation make up their minds during the stormy political conflicts. What attracts youth is power, real or supposed power, at best the most ruthless power. Thus we find in the wake of Sulla nearly all the politicians known later, who at that time were in their twenties, a Pompey, a Crassus, a Catiline." The reader wonders whether this is really the truth. Have we been in error in adopting so many delicate shadings of meanings? Or are we in a quandary resulting from everyone's finding in Cicero what he brings to him?

Such a book, written by a man experienced in the practical politics of Europe for the past two decades, has a salutary effect, just as has Haskell's book, written from the editor's point of view, for it suggests that possibly we who teach have been enchanted by our own siren-song. This book is not an elaborate piece of academic scholarship, but it is a studious and thoughtful attempt to discuss just one aspect of Cicero in a very limited period; and it is worth reading, if only to observe Cicero from an unacademic angle. It is not, on the other hand, a popular book, for it presupposes a reasonable command of the languages and a quite thorough knowledge of the Roman Republic, nor is it a book appropriate for a beginning student of Cicero.

Sometimes Frisch's statements are erratic. On p. 15, for example, he produces a description of Cicero which is provocative, but safe to read only if one knows Cicero well: "As his temperamental type—to use the term of characterology—was markedly manio-depressive,

³ Carsten Høeg, *Introduktion til Cicero* (København, 1942), of which the English translation is now in preparation.

it cannot be wondered at that we find him both jubilant and depressed. . . . If he had only been connected with a university his mind would have been sacrosanct at all times. . . . He was a weak character, not cowardly, but a typical civilian, with a fatal urge to be 'sincere' in the various situations into which he was led." Frisch always acknowledges that Cicero was honestly devoted to conservatism and constitutionalism, but at the beginning of his book (p. 8) he remarks on a point which becomes perfectly clear in the course of his narrative, that he grew in the course of his study to be particularly interested by the rôle Antony played.

The author had the advantage of using books which were published at such times that they have not been generally known and used in the United States.⁴ It is strange, however, to find anyone still using the first edition of Tyrrell and Purser; and apparently Frisch has only a small acquaintance with studies published by scholars in the United States, which might have been of assistance to him, especially in the question of the honors accorded to Caesar while alive.⁵

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CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

⁴ It may not be impertinent to name some of these books dealing with politics at the close of the Roman Republic. In Denmark not only is there Carsten Høeg's *Introduktion til Cicero* (København, 1942), but also another book by Hartvig Frisch, *Cicero og Caesar* (1946). Some libraries in the United States are fortunate enough to have the volume of Pauly-Wissowa containing the article on "M. Tullius Cicero," in which Matthias Gelzer wrote the section on "M. Tullius Cicero als Politiker." Gelzer also published an enlarged and elaborate revision of his study of 1921, *Caesar, der Politiker und Staatsmann* (München, G. D. W. Callwey, 1940, pp. 345), of which the edition of 1941 (pp. 360) is reviewed in detail by Ronald Syme in *J. R. S.*, XXXIV (1944), pp. 92-103. Frisch also used J. Klass, *Cicero und Caesar; ein Beitrag zur Aufhellung ihrer gegenseitigen Beziehungen* (Berlin, Ebering, 1939); A. Piganiol, *Histoire de Rome* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1939), of which there is apparently an edition of 1946; E. Remy, *Trois Philippiques de Cicéron*, I^e, VIII^e, XIV^e, ouvrage posthume, publié par C. Hanoteau et S. Patris, I. E. J., Tome I: Texte et Traduction, Tome II: Commentaire (Louvain, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1941); and A. Afzelius, *Die politische Bedeutung des jüngeren Cato*, which is apparently a whole volume or a large part of one (IV, 1941) in the periodical *Classica et Mediaevalia*. Since the Danish edition of Frisch's book appeared in 1942, he did not use Hugo Willrich, *Cicero und Caesar; zwischen Senatsherrschaft und Gottkönigtum* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1944), or M. Gelzer, *Vom römischen Staat; zur Politik und Gesellschaftsgeschichte der römischen Republik* (Leipzig, Koehler & Amelang, 1944, 2 v.), which the Library of Congress card describes as a "collection of essays and papers, all published previously." Of these books there are cards in the Library of Congress Depository Catalogue, by authors' names, for the 1940 edition of Gelzer's *Caesar* and for his *Vom römischen Staat*, and for the books by Klass, Piganiol (1939), and Willrich. Of more specialized interest is another book by Frisch, *Buthrotier-Affären* (København, 1942).

⁵ He mentions Professor Rostovtzeff's ideas with qualified praise (p. 36), quoting from his *A History of the Ancient World* with approval; but he is severe with the British scholars, for he says (p. 35), in discussing their work on monarchy and deification: "It may be said about Adcock's sober argument, which is matter-of-fact and avoids all constructive hypotheses, that it is characteristic of modern English research into ancient history."

P. CHANTRAINE. *Morphologie historique du grec*. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1945. Pages ix + 442.

This book is designed as a companion to Ernout's *Morphologie historique du latin*. The period covered extends from Homer through the New Testament, with some additional information given on the reconstructed forms of Primitive Greek and Indo-European speech and on the losses and innovations of Modern Greek. Since a detailed treatment of the history of sounds is outside the scope of a work devoted to morphology, the user of the book must depend on other sources for phonological data. The author has made an exception, however, in devoting a few pages to an outline of the vowel alternations and their grammatical function in such pairs as *ἔλειπον*: *ἔλιπον*, where endings are not distinctive. The present morphology does not include word-formation and composition.

Etymological equations involving cognate languages are given sparingly, but for this Chantraine may be commended. Some of the most important related forms in Sanskrit, Latin, etc., are shown in the appropriate places, and the student who wants more may consult Boisacq or Brugmann's *Grundriss*. In Greek dialect material, on the other hand, the book is very rich. The Gortynian Law-Code and the Heracleian Tables have received special attention, but citations from the Aeolic, Arcado-Cyprian, and Northwest dialects are also moderately frequent. Among literary sources Homer, the Lesbian poets, Pindar, and Herodotus have been used liberally, but Attic usage has of course been taken as the norm, especially for the paradigms. Some of the late forms quoted from fourth-century authors or from the New Testament will not be found in standard modern editions of these authors. A glance at the apparatus criticus often shows that the form in question has manuscript authority but was removed by editors in favor of some form regarded as more classical (examples: p. 129, the dual forms *τᾶ*, *ταῖν*, where modern editions have *τῷ*, *τοῖν* in the passages cited; p. 315, *δοκοίησαν* in Aeschines 2, 102, where modern editions read *δοκοῖεν*; many of the questionable New Testament verb forms may be found, with their manuscript authority, in Blass-Debrunner).¹

The organization is the conventional one beginning with the noun and ending with the verb. The final portion deals with two special features of Greek conjugation, the spread of *-η-* as a connecting vowel, and the spread of *-σ-* before endings from forms where it had etymological justification to those where it did not. The customary distinction of thematic and athematic forms in verbs is extended to nouns, and indeed the resemblance of *ο*-stem nouns to thematic verbs is evident enough. Only in § 104 does the terminology become somewhat confusing, since participles may belong to thematic or athematic verbs and may at the same time follow the *ο*-declension (middle) or the consonant declension (active). The paragraph begins by mentioning athematic adjectives, but in speaking of the "athematic participle *διδούς*" and the "thematic participle *ῶν*" the author must be making reference to the verbal stems, since all active participles have consonantal or "athematic" masculine and neuter stems before their case-endings.

¹ *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen, 1913).

Whenever a work on historical grammar is used for reference or review, the reader's curiosity is directed toward those numerous small problems for which no wholly satisfactory solution has been found. One need not always look for new explanations, since often the choice is narrowed down to two or three theories of which one must be correct. A comparison of the present work with several other standard works² shows strongly the influence of Meillet-Vendryes. Thus the nominative plural ending *-ai* of *ā*-stems is derived from the IE dual ending *-ai*, with the analogy of the *o*-stem ending *-oi* assisting (pp. 34 f. and Meillet-Vendryes, p. 418); verbs of the type *δηλόω* are regarded as back-formations from the non-present tense-stems or from the verbal adjectives in *-ωτός* (pp. 232, 284 f. and Meillet-Vendryes, pp. 233 f.; cf. also Schwyzler, I, 727); the intervocalic *-σ-* in the aorists *ἐρίμυσα*, etc., is explained not by the usual theory of analogical restitution but by the supposition that many denominative verbs only made their aorist forms subsequent to the period when intervocalic *σ* disappeared (p. 196 and Meillet-Vendryes, pp. 196 f.); the short-vowel aorist subjunctive as a starting-point for the future tense is rejected in favor of prehistoric desiderative forms (pp. 290 ff. and Meillet-Vendryes, pp. 199 f.). In disagreement with Meillet-Vendryes, p. 416, and in accordance with the usual view, the genitive singular ending *-ου* in Attic masculine *ā*-stems is taken as an analogical extension from *o*-stems rather than as a contraction of *-εο* from *-εω* or from *-ηο* (p. 42). On p. 65 the accusative singular *Ἀπόλλω* is taken as evidence for a stem in *-σσ-* concurrent with the usual nasal stem, but in the absence of direct evidence it appears safer to assume that *Ἀπόλλω* is merely an analogical form after the pattern *ἀμείνων*: *ἀμείνω*. In the treatment of participles (pp. 336 f.) it is said that *ὀμνύων* is the older form for verbs of the *νυ*-class, with *ὀμνύς* made after analogy with *ιστάς*, *τιθείς*, etc. I should prefer to regard *ὀμνύς* as older, following the usual historical sequence whereby athematic forms precede thematic forms and viewing the Herodotean usage of participles in *-νύων* as an illustration of the fact that Ionic is sometimes less conservative than Attic. An occasional objection might be raised against some other minor detail, but actually there is very little that does not agree with the approved results of modern investigation in Greek historical grammar. At times one feels the lack of bibliographical data of the sort contained, for example, in the appendix of Buck's *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, but on the other hand the copious citations of actual linguistic material from Homer through the later Aeolic, Ionic, and Attic authors to the New Testament are a distinct advantage, to which a parallel could be found perhaps only in Kühner-Blass.

Attention may be directed to a few errors of reference and typography. A 238, cited on p. 57 as an instance of *θέμιστες*, actually has accusative *θέμιστας*, though *θέμιστες* may be found in π 403. On p. 79 *κάρη* should be cited from B 259 rather than from B 250. On p. 229 *ἔστασαν* does not occur in B 177 but does occur in Δ 334. On

² Hirt, *Handbuch der griechischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (Heidelberg, 1912). Meillet-Vendryes, *Traité de Grammaire comparée des Langues classiques* (Paris, 1924). Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Chicago, 1934). Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik* (München, 1934-1939).

p. 240 the imperfect forms ἴστην, ἴην, etc., should appear with a macron over the ι. On p. 254 the reference for ζεύγνων should be T 393, in place of T 293, and on p. 262 the reference for πωλέσκειτο should be A 490 in place of A 590. In the paradigm on p. 32 ἡμέραι should be ἡμέραι (see Kühner-Blass, I, 389 f.), and on p. 185 ἐχυθήν should be ἐχύθην. On p. 197 (eight lines from the bottom) read *Iionien-attique présente*, since ἔφθειρα, etc., developed in Attic as in Ionic. On p. 280 (seven lines from the top) read *la valeur rythmique des formes non contractes* for *la valeur rythmique des formes contractes*.

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ANNA SPITZBARTH. Untersuchungen zur Spieltechnik der griechischen Tragödie. Zürich, Rhein-Verlag, 1946. Pp. 109.

The aim of this monograph is to describe and catalog what can be known of acting in Greek tragedy by the use of textual indications in the thirty-two tragedies and two satyr plays (not the fragments). Since the author has done what she set out to do, by means of much careful work in the collection and constant citation of incidents from the plays (an index of which is conveniently placed at the end), the monograph is therefore valuable for its assemblage of material on Greek tragic acting. Still, much of the interesting material in the thirteen chapters closely corresponds to work already done. The second to seventh chapters (on veiling and unveiling, invocatory gestures, listening and looking, gestures of greeting and farewell, actions of grief, and those of violence), parts of the first (on pointing gestures) and eighth (exit and entrance), and the last chapter (on the presentation of emotional incidents) parallel an article by this reviewer in which stage business in all its aspects was discussed with reference to its use for the portrayal of emotion.¹ The comparatively long discussion of the ecyclema and mechane in the eighth chapter might have cited the discussion of Flickinger² in his chapter on the influence of theatrical machinery and dramatic conventions. Some good references are cited in the footnotes, but no bibliography is given. A general, and possibly understandable, neglect of publications other than those in the German language is evidenced.

Of the remaining four chapters, the ninth, on action of supernumeraries, collects examples of these in their chief function as attendants in the retinue of an important character or of the whole chorus, and discusses also their occasional use to form independent crowds or processions. The tenth chapter discusses action arising from the use of certain properties. These actions, though highly individual, admit of some grouping (e.g. handing something to someone; putting on or taking off clothes, wreath, fetters; sacrificial actions) and are discussed according to whether essential to the

¹ A. J. P., LXVI (1945), pp. 377-397.

² *The Greek Theater and its Drama*, pp. 284-317.

play's action, or emotional (throwing an object away, etc.). Sometimes the essential or emotional use of properties is mingled with a decorative element (cited for this are *Ag.* 908; *Ion* 102-183; Euripides, *El.* 112-166; *Andr.* 830).

The twelfth chapter notes certain fixed types of rôle and their characterization by definite action-motifs: the blind man (sketched simply, as Teiresias in *Antigone*, or developed in detail, even to the point where the action of the whole play centers around him); the old man (letting himself be led, hesitating, toilsomely climbing, etc.); the sufferer from sickness or insanity; the soul-sick person (cf. *Tro.* 98-121; *Hipp.* 198 ff.); the barbarian; the person of rank, and those semi-comic characters which are his opposite,—nurse, guard, etc.; the rather romantic unheroic young hero (*I. A.*, Achilles) or young girl (*I. A.*, Iphigenia; *Phoen.*, Antigone). The chapter on "Doppelvorgänge," treating of the apparent (though actually rare) use of two simultaneous incidents, discusses the case of a silent actor with nothing to do while another actor or the chorus speaks. In this connection the author cites the behavior of a soloist on our concert stage during choral parts, inclining toward the view that the Greek actor felt his rôle as an artist or artistic technician, not exclusively as a real personification of a character.

Comments are made at intervals on the usage of the three dramatists. The author states (p. 17) that incidents of emotional veiling and unveiling are exclusively Euripidean; might *Cho.* 81 be adduced as an Aeschylean example? In discussing invocation of the dead, she says (p. 24) one might conjecture the accompaniment of gestures for the supplication in the scene, *Cho.* 306-509, though none were indicated. Yet Aeschylus does seem to have made some indication of action in the phrase (428) κροτητὸν . . . κάρα. For this discussion in general, too, *Pers.* 683 could be cited in support of the gesture of beating the ground. In view of the realism of the modern theater it would be more appropriate to include the kiss, which is set down among real actions on page 30, rather among "suggested" actions (page 90) indicated but impossible to carry out because of the mask.

The author believes that psychological development of character as we understand the term was unknown to the Greek dramatist (p. 86) and of little interest to his public (p. 94). She asserts that Euripides worked only from the dramatic point of view and not from the psychological, thus opposing much Euripidean criticism (not cited) and upholding (though no references are given) such work as Eugen Petersen's *Die Attische Tragödie als Bild- und Bühnenkunst* (Bonn, 1915).

She concludes (p. 95) that action-motifs were purposefully used, and their presentation generally stylized; therefore, that much action was not inherent in the tragedian's purpose. This statement is decidedly uncertain when one recalls individual actions which do not admit of classification into motifs, and when one realizes that the tragedians surely went as far as they could to indicate action without turning the play's text into a vehicle for detailed stage directions. One need only note the comparative bareness of a modern play's text in contrast to its presentation, a fact which of course does not justify us in jumping to any conclusion concerning the playwright's views

about action. The thrilling English presentation of *Oedipus Tyrannus* by the London Old Vic Theatre Company in the 1946 Broadway season might certainly serve to remind those who were fortunate enough to see it that at least a normal amount of action, sufficient to present character and incident or to portray emotion, necessarily was inherent in the purpose of even Sophocles, admittedly the least demonstrative of the three tragedians.

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Excidium Troiae. Edited by E. BAGBY ATWOOD and VIRGIL K. WHITAKER. Cambridge, Mass., Mediaeval Academy of America, 1944. Pp. xci + 83. (*Mediaeval Academy of America Publications*, No. 44.)

Excidium Troiae is an anonymous, early mediaeval compendium which in continuous narrative chronicles the Trojan war, the wanderings of Aeneas, and the early story of Rome. It is shown to be a rewritten version, by an unlearned redactor, of a considerably older Latin work, itself anonymous and unknown to us.

The narrative in *E. T.* dealing with Troy has many elements in common with other mediaeval accounts which, like it, are in significant details independent of the Dares-Dictys tradition, and the editors with acumen and clarity study the interrelationship between *E. T.* and many of these kindred works, Latin and vernacular. They reach the conclusion that the original Latin work was extant in the Middle Ages in forms akin to *E. T.*, and that we can thereby explain the origin of many details in the mediaeval narratives.

The author of the ancient work, it seems, may have drawn upon some Greek epitome, now unknown, for his Trojan story. The middle part of *E. T.* is a reworking of what in the original was a rather learned, but not elaborate, summary of Virgil. And for the compressed Roman story, the authors are not yet ready to say whether a number of sources were used by the original author, or whether the account was based on some one earlier Latin or Greek history. The treatment of sources is at all points judicious and sound.

E. T. in its present form is itself interesting for any number of details in its plot, and not the least notable aspect is its failure to reflect an attitude of worship towards the heroes that move in its pages. For one example, Helen declares her love to Paris, and only then asks him: "Quisnam es tu?" (8, 13).

The text is interesting also for its Latinity. One hopes that the editors may yet provide us with a detailed study of the language and the spelling. Vulgar forms abound; I list for illustration merely *absortus* at page 25, line 15, and *serpuit* at 13, 3 (*serpivit* at 32, 24, *serpita* at 7, 27 and 8, 7; see Stolz-Schmalz-Leumann, p. 322). As for the spelling, one finds *iuclo* for *iugulo*, *calca* often for *caliga*, or *tumultatio* followed closely by *tumultuarentur* (51, 15 and 19), and a glance at the Index of Proper Names will reveal many of the corruptions resulting from the ignorance of redactor and scribes (for example, *Iacolens* for *Ianiculum*, *Numa Populius*). *Admediato* (*itinere*) at 39, 2 and 22 deserved a note; I have thus far not found

this word anywhere else. There is surely no need to translate the above-mentioned *serpita* (*amore*) as "stung," and to assume as the editors do, in the note on page 62, that the word as used at 7, 27 and 8, 7 has a different meaning from that at 13, 3 (*venenum per membra serpuit*) and at 32, 24 (*Cupido . . . eam amore Enee per medullam serpivit*). The most common gloss for *serpit* (appearing in at least five different lists) in the *Glossaria Latina* and the *Corpus Glossar. Lat.* is *penetrat* (*possidet* and *percutit* can also be found). A study of the language would have supplemented nicely the observations in Chapter VII on the literary qualities of the work. Here the editors contrast with the mediaeval Latinity the complete absence, in the treatment of the plot, of an allegorical or tropological point of view such as one might well expect in a work characteristically mediaeval. The "classical" nature of the tale remained unaffected in the reworking.

The three MSS on which the present text is based all inherit corruptions from earlier exemplars. The editors are to be praised for adhering closely to the MSS, with all the shortcomings these reveal, and for resisting the impulse to correct as if with the restoration of the classical original in mind. Emendation has been limited to several of the places where the readings are utterly unintelligible. I here offer suggestions on a few additional points. In the gloss on *monile* (32, 11) the editors, with understandable diffidence—they add a question-mark—record the word *adflotitario*. *Ri* has *affrodi-carium*, which, I venture to think, points to *aphrodisiacum*. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVII, 10, 54, 148, writes: *aphrodisiaca (gemma) ex candido rufa est*. Again, I do not believe that the phrase used with reference to Sinon at 14, 12, *cingite ante pendacem*, and at 14, 16, *ante pendacem* (*L pendice*) *cinctum*, has any connection with "slope of a hill" (see p. lxvii, and note, p. 67). The editors' second guess, that the phrase may mean "blindfold," is doubtless correct, for *ante pendacem* must be a corruption of *antependium*. See in Du Cange, *antependium: velum quod ante pendet*. At 32, 3, where a word corresponding to Virgil's *Sidonias* (*Aeneid*, IV, 75) is indicated, I should, in place of the (to me) unknown adjective *Tunicas* (*opes*) read either *Tirias* with *Ra* (cf. 35, 23) or *Punicas*. Despite the note on 27, 14, I should follow *Ra* and *Ri* in using the genitive (*comam*) *capitis* instead of the dative; 35, 1 supplies an analogue. At 47, 8 and 9 I take both *cecidit* and *cecidisse* to be forms of *cado*; see also 48, 2 and 3. The comma now after *cecidit* should then be placed after *percussit*. Finally, I should write *etheria* rather than *atheria* at 27, 24.

The testimonia from Virgil, set down by the editors at pertinent places in the text, prove very helpful for studying correspondences, perversions, additions, and omissions, and the deviation from the *Aeneid* in the order of the narrative.

Careful workmanship is apparent throughout, and even in the proof-reading. Misprints are very few: *streptitum* (16, 13), *reade-amus* (57, 27), *Pomper Trogi* (p. lxxxviii), a transplaced *r* in the last two sentences of p. xix, note 22; *capita eorum* wrongly divided at 44, 3; at 4, 10-11 a missing hyphen which would make *et iam* one word.

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J. J. VAN DEN BESSELAAR. *Cassiodorus Senator en zijn Variae*. De Hoveling. De diplomatieke Oorkonden der Variae. De Rhetor. Nijmegen, N. V. Uitgeversmaatschappij De Gelderlander, 1943. Pp. xvi + 230. (Diss. of the Roman Catholie Univ. of Nijmegen.)

This dissertation had already been printed in 1943, but, as the Germans demanded a declaration of loyalty from every new graduate, the author had to wait for his official graduation until 1945, when the Netherlands were free again. van den Besselaar's dissertation is more than a study of the person and the work of Cassiodorus, for light is also thrown on his literary and political surroundings. The book is accordingly divided into three chapters, which give us various aspects of Cassiodorus and his times.

The first chapter (pp. 1-65) is a biography of the courtier (Cassiodorus' monastic life is not considered). In this chapter the author gives a good résumé of what can be learned—especially from the *Variae* themselves—about Cassiodorus' activity under Theodoric and his successors, and in the light of this evidence the author evaluates Cassiodorus as a politician and as a man.

The second chapter, the diplomatic documents of the *Variae* (pp. 69-124), is an historical study of the relations of the Gothic empire with foreign countries. It is clearly shown that the tone of the *Variae* reflects the changing power of the empire: the letters of Theodoric give evidence of independence and of purposeful policy, whereas those of Theodahad indicate that he was no match for the intrigues of Byzantium. This chapter is also important because of the new datings offered for several letters. As a result we now know that Cassiodorus was quaestor not in 507, as Mommsen thought, but in 505-6.

In his Preface the author says that he took the greatest pleasure in the third chapter, the Rhetor (pp. 127-201), and this we can understand, for the literary aspect of the *Variae* is a theme which has hardly been examined. Without doubt this is the most interesting chapter in the book. The ideal of culture, rhetoric, is here characterized and in accordance with this standard a judgment of the *Variae* is given. The author has not neglected to examine the *Variae* in the light of ancient epistolography, which is a literary genre in itself. The results of this examination are not definitive, not even always satisfactory, as the author himself admits.

The dissertation begins with an extensive list of sources and bibliography and ends with the testimonia on Cassiodorus (including the *Anecdoton Holderi*) and with a very careful index, conforming to the well-known indices of our 17th and 18th century editions. The table of contents is written in Latin for those who in *sermone Batavo parum versati sunt*, which is certainly an improvement on the "Summary in English" which many Dutch dissertations append.

Of the first two chapters I can comment on only one subject: the family relations between Cassiodorus and Boethius and Symmachus. Mommsen (*Variae*, p. ix) denies any relationship between them, but van den Besselaar thinks the contrary can be proved. His point of departure (pp. 13 f.) is the *Anecdoton Holderi*, which says: *Ordo*

generis Cassiodorum: qui scriptores exstiterint ex eorum progenie vel ex quibus eruditus. There is also the passage of Cassiodorus (*Inst.*, I, 23, 1) in which the nun Proba is called a relative of Cassiodorus. This seems to be the same Proba who, according to Fulgentius (LXV, p. 320 C Migne), was a *soror* of Symmachus' daughter Galla. Now we may ask whether *soror* really means any relationship, for they were certainly not sisters, as van den Besselaar also admits. In my opinion Fulgentius did not intend to indicate any earthly relationship at all, but even if that had been the case we could not speak of an *ordo generis Cassiodorum* and make Boethius and Symmachus descendants (*progenies*!) of Cassiodorus. Moreover, how should we conceive this relationship? The father of Cassiodorus Senator, Cassiodorus, was the first of the family to hold a position at the court of Ravenna. It is almost impossible to think that this provincial *homo novus* could marry a girl of the Anicians, a family both distinguished and opposed to the court. And even then we could not speak of *progenies*. Another point is that I cannot see how Cassiodorus would ever dare to send a *libellus* to Cethegus (an Anician) in which he would claim the Anician Boethius as one of his *genus*. Hence we can safely say that Cassiodorus never wrote an *Ordo generis Cassiodorum*, as van den Besselaar (p. 40) thinks he did; rather these are the words of the epitomator of the *Anecdoton Holderi*. He begins his excerpt with the words: *Excerpta ex libello Cassiodori Senatoris . . . quem scripsit ad Rufum Petronium Nicomachum* (= Cethegus); after that he says: *Ordo generis Cassiodorum*, etc. to indicate what kind of excerpts he is presenting.

There still remains, of course, the difficulty of explaining how the epitomator could make Boethius and Symmachus descendants of Cassiodorus. The *Anecdoton* is too fragmentary to permit a certain answer. Perhaps he found prosopographical data in Cassiodorus' libellus and added to them from other sources, e. g., material about Cassiodorus' quaestorship and the edition of the *Variae* (according to Usener).

The third chapter of van den Besselaar's dissertation begins with a review of the literary aspects of the *Variae*, based on Deissmann's well-known theory of "Letter" and "Epistle." This theory may be alluring in certain cases, but generally it is incorrect and therefore not acceptable.¹ Cassiodorus' letters are literary and, as van den Besselaar rightly observes, they were considered literary works before they were gathered together in the *Variae*. But this does not alter the fact that they probably underwent more changes when they were edited than van den Besselaar thinks (pp. 71 f.). In the first place, Cassiodorus omitted the things which gave his letters a momentary and matter-of-fact (that is non-literary) character: the dates and the *breves* (appendices). Further—and this van den Besselaar omits from consideration altogether—we can see from the prescript of the letters and the absence of a final salutation that the letters were

¹ A good critique of Deissmann's theory is given by V. Hepp, "De Vorm der Nieuw-Testamentische Brieven volgens Deissmann en zijn school," *Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift*, XVI (1915-16), pp. 481-502; 537-554.

certainly not sent off in the form in which we have them now.² In order to determine the literary character of a collection of letters, we must not neglect the prescript, the initial and final formulas, and other external indicia; for the Latin letter we have the necessary studies in these respects.³ When persons and numbers in the letters are indicated as *ille* and *tot*, this too must be regarded as a caution of the editor, for we cannot agree with Lechler (cf. p. 72) that drafts of Cassiodorus' letters in which names and numbers had not yet been filled in could serve as documents of the royal archives; for such archives the real contents are the important thing, not the rhetorical talents of the writer. These indications make it rather certain that Cassiodorus altered much before he published his letters. Whether we can go as far as Peter,⁴ who assumes that Cassiodorus deleted all that was strictly pertinent to the facts, is another question. As others have done, van den Besselaar points to the fact (p. 73) that the letters of the *Variae* hardly touch the matter in question, but exhaust themselves in vague generalities. Now he has discovered (pp. 112 f.) that the letter of Theodahad in Cassiodorus' *Variae* (X, 19) is quite different from the same letter in Procopius (*B. G.*, I, 6, 15-21): in Cassiodorus we have "generalities" and a "non-committal flow of language," in Procopius an exact indication of the conditions and a very different tone. van den Besselaar blames Procopius and his rhetorical process for this; but why not blame Cassiodorus? When Theodahad wanted to surrender to Justinian, he undoubtedly fixed his price for it. If all this is true, many letters of the *Variae* must be purely rhetorical ornaments, based on real letters of the chancellery of Ravenna. Anyway, there is reason enough to doubt the honesty of Cassiodorus' words in the *Praefatio* of the *Variae* (I, 13): *et ideo quod . . . a me dictatum in diversis publicis actibus potui reperire . . . composui* (cf. p. 72). This too is a *captatio benevolentiae* and not the only one in the *Praefatio*!

Into one very important subject van den Besselaar could not go: the relation between the *Variae* and the secular and clerical chancelleries, since preparatory studies are wanting (cf. pp. 196 ff.). Not only a study in epistolography of the ancient chancelleries is a desideratum; we do not know much about the relationship of the mediaeval letter to the ancient letter either, in spite of the works of Rockinger, Wattenbach, Valois, and others. It is clear that the letters of the *Variae* will be very important for the *trait-d'union* between Antiquity and the Middle Ages. These and other studies are still necessary before we can come to a history of Latin epistolography, for Peter's book is far from exhaustive.⁵

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² For ancient epistolography, cf. the important work of O. Roller, *Das Formular der Paulinischen Briefe. Ein Beitrag zur Lehre vom antiken Briefe* (Stuttgart, 1933), pp. 405 f.

³ J. Babel, *De epistularum Latinarum formulis* (Diss. Erlangen, Bamberg, 1893); A. Engelbrecht, *Das Titelwesen bei den spätlateinischen Epistolographen* (Wien, 1893); M. B. O'Brien, *Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography* (Diss. Washington, 1930).

⁴ *Der Brief in der römischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 205.

⁵ Cf. F. Leo, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, CLXIII (1901), p. 325.

DORO LEVI. *Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945. Pp. ii + 32; 32 plates. \$4.00.

In this excellently written monograph Dr. Levi has proved definitely that Crete in the Geometric Period was not a backward country, as it is generally assumed, but rather an active center where many elements of the historic Greek art were molded. The excavations conducted by the author in 1924 at Arcades, near the slope of the Lasithi range, as well as those conducted by Hogarth (1899), by Sir Arthur Evans (1907), and Payne (1927) in the necropolis of Zapher Papoura, almost a mile to the north of the Palace at Knossos, have brought to light an immense amount of pottery which establishes the rôle played by Crete in the Geometric Period. This material, some of which is described and discussed in a masterly fashion in the present monograph, makes it possible to trace the development of the Geometric pottery from the latest Mycenaean style, which in Crete perhaps lasted to the beginning of the first millennium B. C., through a Sub-Mycenaean or Proto-Geometric stage.

The development can be seen in the deterioration of the quality of the varnish, the dropping of some shapes, the progressive impoverishment of an old and decaying ornamentation, and in the gradual adoption of a more linear and disintegrated ornamental syntax. Out of this, and rather belatedly, perhaps about the middle of the eighth century B. C., was crystallized the Geometric style. This delay in the formation of a well organized Geometric style was the result of the insistence of Minoan-Mycenaean traditions which were diametrically opposed to the orderly, architectural spirit underlying the later style.

At about the same time that the Geometric style had reached its developed stage, Oriental elements made their appearance and in a short time they dominated the decoration which was led toward an "Orientalizing" style. The remains of this Orientalizing art are so numerous that they led the author to conclude that "Crete, far from being during the creation of this art a secondary and remote province, in comparison to the great influence exerted by Ionia upon the Hellenic continent, was together with Cyprus and Rhodes the natural and traditional bridge of transition." These Oriental elements, however, were enriched with elements recalling Mycenaean motives and the latter seem to indicate that many a divergent source of inspiration was responsible for the development of the Orientalizing style of Crete. Furthermore, the Oriental elements were re-elaborated in a fanciful and almost capricious manner which was responsible for the individual quality that characterizes the Cretan local style.

Vases from all parts of Crete and even its bronzes have enabled the author to follow easily and step by step the development of this Orientalizing art. But its transmission to the rest of the Greek world cannot be demonstrated so easily. The general conclusion that Crete as well as Cyprus and Rhodes served as a natural cultural bridge is not so clearly demonstrated and the statement that "the first expression of Hellenic Art took consistency and from Crete spread throughout the surrounding islands as far as the Hellenic continent" has

yet to be proved. Nor is the influence of Cretan on Proto-Corinthian pottery entirely definite. Perhaps more excavations and additional studies of the excellent quality of the present monograph will help solve the problem in the near future. The Orientalizing art of Crete seems to have lasted until about the middle of the seventh century B. C., when the island "settled into the darkness of its exhausted, lethargic sleep."

The monograph is naturally divided into three parts: the discussion (pages 1-18), the catalogue of illustrations (pages 19-32), and a series of 32 plates. The typography and the quality of the plates are excellent. We have noted only that on page 13 reference is made to Plate IX, 2 instead of Plate IX, 1. The volume will form a welcome addition and a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the early historic years of Crete, whose brilliant Minoan achievement until recently had absorbed completely the interest of the scholar.

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TH. H. SLUITER. *L. Annaei Senecae Oedipus. Specimen Editionis Criticae.* Groningen, M. de Waal, 1941. Pp. 126. (Diss.)

In 1914 Theodor Duering, with the assistance of C. E. Stuart and Wilhelm Hoffer, had made considerable progress toward an edition of Seneca's tragedies. All three were killed in the first world war. They had consulted to some extent over three hundred manuscripts of the tragedies. All scholars are agreed that the eleventh century Etruscus, in the Laurentian Library in Florence, represents alone one line of descent and the only one without interpolations. The rest present an interpolated text presumably from a common source distinct from E. Early editions of the tragedies were based on one or another of the interpolated manuscripts. Gronovius discovered and first used E. Leo was the first to compare the two traditions and make a really critical text.

Theodor H. Sluiter has used the material left by Duering and, believing that the editions of Leo, Peiper, Richter, and Hoffmann are not based on proper evaluation of the interpolated tradition, proposes a new text edition of all the tragedies. He has published the *Oedipus* as the first volume of this edition, selecting this play because less had been done on it by Duering and his colleagues than on the rest.

Sluiter presents clearly the important manuscripts (less than a dozen deserve individual consideration) and selects with judgment those of the interpolated tradition which are most nearly free from contamination with E. He shows also that the two traditions have equal value in restoring the Senecan readings when once the interpolations have been distinguished from true readings. He eliminates from the text numerous arbitrary changes made by previous editors. This is particularly valuable in the cases of violent transposition of lines made by Peiper and Richter and, in some instances, accepted by Leo. (Note in particular lines 635 ff.) He confirms Carlsson's reading in line 45 (*novo* against the *die* of E), Richter's *sua motam*

ripa for *suam mutat ripam* (E) in line 162, and Gronovius' reading in line 557, *retro* for the *antro* of E. Both in the elimination of conjectures and in the confirmation of others, Sluiter has brought the text nearer to Seneca's probable reading.

It is, however, a serious flaw in such a text that the editor has not only allowed certain readings to remain which his own method should have changed (e. g. line 878: Heinse's conjecture of *pares* is retained against the *parens* of the interpolated tradition) but has added new conjectures of his own. In line 436, to save Seneca from a geographical error, he reads *Thessalio* for *Threicio*. For the same reason he accepts the tempting but unproven conjecture of Wilamowitz in line 285, *Hylaethi* for *Elidis*, and that of Enk in line 472, *Zaratum* for *Zalacum* or *Zedacum*. He accepts *iusta* for *iussa* in line 976 on the ground that no one gives orders to a king. But Oedipus is referring to the demonstrated power of the gods. In line 404 his own manuscripts should have led him to read *armati* and not change (with the comment *correx*i) to *arma tua*.

It is probably safe to say that Sluiter's text is the best that we have. The format is attractive, the printing and the paper excellent. The bibliography is well selected and adequate. It is hard to believe, however, that enough improvement is made over the text as it stood to warrant a new edition of the tragedies.

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